SELECTIONS

FROM MY

RECENT NOTES

ON THE

INDIAN EMPIRE

BY

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&c., &c., &c.

Vincit Omnia Veritas

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This Work

is

Respectfully Dedicated,

WITH PERMISSION,

To

The Right Hon'ble

Lord Randolph Churchill, M.P., C.I.E.,

LATE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

AND NOW

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER & LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

&c., &c., &c.,

By

His most Dutiful Servant,

THE AUTHOR

THE RIGHT HON'BLE

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, M.P., C.I.E.,

&c., &c., &c.

May it please your Lordship,

I am much obliged to your Lordship for condescending to accept the Dedication of this my humble Work.

As your Lordship is aware, I have not ventured to solicit this indulgence at your Lordship's hands till I had reason to believe that, though not expected to admit all that I wrote and had the privilege of submitting, your Lordship had, nevertheless, thought that my proposals and elucidations on the questions of the day deserved the practical consideration of Statesmen.

Thus kindly encouraged, it has given me great honor and pleasure to propose the Dedication to one who recently pleased all India with a sustained and historical visit, and subsequently with the valuable services rendered to our country as its Administrational Head.

It would be presumptuous on my part if I attempted to make this note a flattering one to your Lordship: all I would, therefore, say with due deference is, that it is your Lordship's singular and constitutional freeness from party conventionalism, prejudices, and stiffness which has always inspired in me hopes of your Lordship being able, in some near future, to deal with the affairs of Great Britain, its Dependencies, and Colonies in a manner which, while really raising them individually from time to time in the estimation of the civilized world, would also strengthen and purify their ties with Her Most Gracious Majesty's benign and world-wide Empire.

I beg to remain,

Your Lordship's most Dutiful Servant,

DINSHAH ARDESHIR.

Baroda, 25th July, 1886.

INTRODUCTION.

The present work is mostly composed of some of my recent contributions on the leading questions of the day referring to the interests of this country.

The original circulation of these papers having been limited, it is deemed desirable on several public grounds to collect them in the present form, which is likely to obtain the required circulation.

So many interests vital to my countrymen are now-a-days cropping up that I am, perhaps, not wrong in assuming that my quarter of a century's treatment of practical questions affecting the advancement and welfare of India may secure to me the privilege of speaking to them with some authority on the subject-matter of this work.

Those of my readers who are accustomed to the writings of the rising writers and the sentiments of the extreme patriots who are now being formed—I of course exclude from this category those who rest on a higher platform—may not generally be prepared for an endorsement of all that I have here advocated.

I do not, however, doubt that I will carry with me the sympathetic approval of the most experienced and practical portion of my countrymen, as also of those who have to deal directly with Indian matters and warmly interest themselves in the well-being of this country.

The very fact that careful readers will find in the work much of what I have maintained as being actually borne out

either by subsequent events or the adoption of identical views, suggestions, or proposals, will, I hope, secure the indulgence of the younger generations who, too, now form the brightest hopes for the social and political regeneration of India.

I hope this work, in due proportion to its scope and merits, may be able to demonstrate one of its intrinsic objects, that the task of rendering real, sustained, and permanent service to the country is indefinitely more difficult than an indiscriminate advocacy of our rights as sons of the soil, or a similar condemnation of the apparent factors which are held as actuating the impoverishment of the country, the party aims directed towards an uncompromising contention for effecting every unqualified good or restraining all durable influences in regard to the welfare of India, and the patriotic activity which, while finding a plentiful play in a plain and seemingly smiling region of operations, is yet lying fallow, in a concrete sense, in those thick and impenetrable forests of the social, political, economic, and religious sciences, as applied to native India, in which now lie buried the rays and splendour of the Mazdiasni-Christian Light, which alone can free our country from the unethical and effeminate shackles of countless ages, for working out a vigorous civilization within itself, and inspiring amelioration and freedom in the East in general.

In regard to the get up of the work, I cannot help observing that it is defective in several respects, as I could only attend to it during the scanty leisure which my heavy official duties would afford. Though I have rendered the arrangement of the various papers and essays pretty consistent, I have not allowed the links which mark the progress and

development of thoughts, sentiments, actions, and events, for the period in which they have appeared, to be marred, so that the principles which have guided me, and may well guide those interested in the good of our country and in the stability and progress of Her Majesty's Rule, may be placed in full relief.

I shall now pass on to a consideration of some significant portion of a practical plan on which our patriots may base their future line of action, and which may also serve to show how any earnest and impartial efforts to be exercised in behalf of India are besetted with the difficulties to which I have above alluded : dreary and forbidding though these difficulties may be, they are still calculated to open up real prospects of a humane emancipation before us, as these difficulties are systematically and single-mindedly encountered.

The present period in the Indian history is very extraordinary. The fate of the vast majority of the people of India is but slightly better than a wretched one. They are not capable of much exertions, and even if they did exert much, they could not place themselves in a position above the most common wants of life. Devoid of capital, or of much intelligence and genius, the earnings of many millions are not enough to build them up to any degree of prosperity. The populations grow, and their wants grow too. The demands growing out of these indefinitely increase, but the supply does not equally become abundant. The crucial point of such an aggravation is reached when a famine or other calamities occur. The starvation and death of millions then take place. The British Government have, no doubt, done their best to mitigate these frightful human disasters to an extent and in a manner which no Native Government ever did.

The Native Press still teems with expressions of disaffection, and the patriots of the country systematically inveigh

against the present system of the British Government. The Native Journals and the Native Associations constantly maintain that the Government is not all what it should be to the people of India, and that the lower, the middle and the upper classes are all being more or less impoverished and demoralized. The reasons assigned are the refusal of the Government to reduce the civil and military expenditures, to substitute native agencies in various administrations, and to grant more extensive and more sincere self-government to the country. Another general reason assigned for the prevalent popular disaffection is the tendency of the Government to go to war for annexation and other purposes which inflict ruining expenditures on India and vitiate its capacity for internal development and progress.

The notes published in this work serve to show in what manner and how far have we been influenced by these early clamours in India, which so inadequately come upon the surface. These clamours I recognize as being early, because the mass of the people are not so far civilized as to raise them for themselves, and those who have so deservedly elected themselves as their representatives have neither sufficient leisure nor all commanding resources to invest their advocacy with that truth, weight and dignity, the fullest amount of which alone can tell on a powerful Government like the British. The contest in which the leaders of Native India are engaged is often based on personal grounds, and there is the most valid excuse for this being so. They are drawn by the Western spirit, while the influence of wealth and power in India is hardly allied with the germs of public spirit, nor shines very considerably on those graced with education and culture. Much, therefore, of the patriotism in the Indian cause lacks in genuine strength and irresistible fulness of sincerity and sympathies which can only meet those who, while influential in wealth, power, and high intellectual capacity, are also animated by an earnest desire to see large measures of amelioration planned and enforced, not in the interests of any small section of society, but in the interests of vast populations.

The grave shortcomings of the Indian leaders do not of course aid the efforts of the Government in righting itself with the people. If it is not able to consult their interests fully, and in all matters, the labours of the leaders, which are only occasionally opportune or pointed, or the uncompromising hostility displayed by some of the younger educated generations, furnish the rulers with sufficient excuse to maintain a conservative and frigid policy which, no doubt, has good deal to do with the continuance of our public miseries. Any real reforms in Indian affairs will considerably depend upon the correct and adequate ability displayed by native politicians, both of a patriotic and administrative character.

I shall here attempt to show how the Government may be induced to initiate a reformed and national policy for the general and specific good of India. In thus forecasting, I may assume that the Indian leaders will generally follow the line of action which I have denoted.

(*a*) Every province in India must constitute a large assembly of educated and practical persons, which should regularly assemble once or more a month, and hold public debates on all matters concerning the public finances and their disposal.

The object of these debates should be to point out the irregularities of expenditures, the sources of legitimate, and the hardships of illegitimate, revenues, and the best methods of disbursements which would conduce to the prosperity and happiness of the people. The debates and representations should be systematic and untiring, and conducted with so much of practical knowledge, skill, and moderate force, that the competency of such debators to become Legislators and Executive Members of the Government would become self-evident.

(*b*) These Presidential and Provincial Assemblies should, to a certain extent, be fed by secondary Assemblies which should be established in district municipal towns or the chief cities in the districts. The debating powers should be widely cultivated, and no question should be taken up without collecting the utmost possible information thereon. Each important centre should have a capable Journal to publish the

debates *in extenso* and assist the objects of the Assemblies from time to time. After either a measure of reform, or an important proceeding of the Assembly is well discussed, and its general propriety fully recognized, the Assemblies should not rest till the Government has been induced to accept the recommendations made.

(*c*) One of the primary objects of these Assemblies should be to return members for District and City Municipalities and for the Government Councils. Before, however, attempts are made in this direction, members of the Assemblies should fit themselves for the said administrative functions by exercising and displaying their abilities in the Assemblies, which would be the training Schools for Politicians, as well as effectual agencies to publish the transactions of the Government as they may affect the moral and material condition of the people.

(*d*) The merits of all new appointments and vacancies should be regularly discussed in these Assemblies with a view to reduce expenditures and increase the number of appointments held by the natives of the country. The eligibility of all natives who are fit by experience and character to fill up responsible district and city appointments should be constantly discussed, while the claims of really able natives to appointments of Executive and Legislative Members should be systematically and sedulously pointed out.

(*e*) The number of members for each Assembly should be higher according to the extent and importance of the tract of the country it may represent. A Presidential Assembly should consist of a far larger number of representatives than a Town Assembly, as the number of popular and other members should be higher in a Government Council than in a Town or District Municipal Board. Each Assembly should, therefore, contain not only members sufficient for its own business, but also for its Municipalities and the Government Council according to the proportional numbers needed in each of such institutions.

(*f*) Every Assembly must command the services of a large number of members, for very great portions of them

will be absorbed in the Council and the Municipalities. Though a practical voting action cannot have much freedom at the outset, every Government will be aided in commanding the services of a large number of representatives capable of discussing public questions in State meetings.

(*g*) The Viceregal Council will contain the largest number of popular and nominated members, as it must represent every province of the Indian Empire. The principal Assembly of a Presidency will be entitled to send its representatives to the Supreme Council from its own body and from the members with a Governor's Council. Any Government will further be at liberty to nominate certain number of members, either from the people at large or from the Assemblies.

(*h*) The Assembly at the seat of the Chief Government in India may be termed the Chief Indian Assembly, which must be composed of the largest number of representatives, and to which every Presidential Assembly will be entitled to return a certain number of its own representatives.

(*i*) The Chief Indian Assembly will also have its corresponding Assembly in London composed of such number as may be possible to send there. The Chief Indian Assembly will be entitled to depute some of their members to the India Council, these being much fewer than those appointed to the Viceroy's Council, the India Office nominating Government members from the Assembly just mentioned, or directly from the people.

(*j*) The public meetings of the Governors', the Viceroy's and the Secretary of State's Councils may be held every three months, the Budget quarter being considered the more important of the rest. The popular or the nominated members will be entitled to put questions to the Government, in reference to any of its actions, or those of its servants, and elicit the necessary information thereon. All records or minutes of the Government will be open to the inspection of any member, who will also be entitled to bring forward, sufficiently early, any legislative or administrative measure which may be deemed by him or the public essential in the public interests.

(*k*) The early constitution of a popular representation allied with any Government need not be held absolute. The majority of a Government will, therefore, be empowered on the basis of good faith to throw out any measure or censure passed by a larger majority till such time as a responsible popular representation is tentatively introduced. The Viceroy's or the Secretary of State's Council will be at liberty to take cognizance of any such proceedings, either voluntarily, or at the instance of any subordinate popular Assembly, and decide on the merits of such a case.

(*l*) No proceedings of any Council will be held secretly unless the great majority, or an authorized minority wish it to be so.

(*m*) Members of any of the People's Assemblies, or of the Government Councils, excepting officials, will be entitled to appear as candidates for the British Parliament.

(*n*) At the outset India should be represented in the British Parliament by as many of its representatives, as may harmonize with the number of its chief British Administrators. Each group of Native States may also return their representatives, if they can afford to do so. Any Native Prince who has granted some measure of self-government to his subjects will be entitled to a seat in the Council in the same manner as any ordinary member is returned or nominated.

The scheme that I have here somewhat roughly laid down should aim at creating at least 5,000 capable spokesmen for India, to influence the institutions of self-government and the Executive Governments, both here and in England. The larger number the better, for the purely popular Assemblies may, indeed, need numerous members to bring on for open discussion every village, district, city, provincial or State question affecting the people, financially, politically, socially, morally, or commercially. These thorough and fearless discussions abroad and prior to the holding of the Council and National Meetings will greatly help governmental proceedings and lay out a clear road for the popular members to follow and to confirm.

The labors of our public men and public bodies are much wasted, because they do not follow some intelligible and

consistent line of action as above briefly laid down. The 5,000 leaders required to follow one grand plan—composed of a set of well-joined constituents—are, by no means, a large number for India, and yet we cannot do with any much less number. We cannot create any large number as if by magic. Even in respect of securing a minimum number, we have to follow some consistent plan with uniform energy and perseverance throughout India. The Princes and wealthy classes should assist the present few leaders with funds, so that by the means of Associations and other methods they may succeed in adding to the present ranks of patriotic debators and writers. Some of the principal persons should travel throughout the country and encourage their countrymen to identify themselves with public affairs and open debating assemblies to discuss and place them in suitable forms before the Government.

It must be admitted with regret that a prominent portion of our patriotic labors is based on mere sentiment. While we should work out such a practical political scheme as I have here explained, we should also engage ourselves in other practical directions as I have elsewhere pointed out. It must be taken as an undoubted fact that, unless considerable new wealth is created in India, there is no hope for a better and more extended self-government, and a more sympathetic and congenial Imperial policy. The Indian leaders have, therefore, another urgent task before them, which they cannot neglect a year further. Instead of frittering away their ability and resources in less practical matters, they have to exert in getting a broad Imperial policy created for the various popular instructions of the masses—such as I have already indicated. Let them apply themselves sedulously to pointing out to Government how they might spare 5 or 6 crores a year in the cause of the Arts, Industries and Professions of the country. A complete exploration of the now hidden, but vast and inexhaustible, resources of the country is also a subject to which they should strive to direct the most practical attention of the Government. But the following pages treat of these and other questions fully.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

RUSSIA, INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN.

PART II.

THE ARMIES OF NATIVE STATES, OR THE MILITARY REORGANIZATION OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

PART III.

INDIAN VICEROYS AND GOVERNORS.

PART IV.

POLITICAL ASPECTS.

PART V.

THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION.

PART VI.

NATIVE STATES.

PART VII.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

PART VIII.

ABOUT WOMANKIND IN INDIA.

SELECTIONS FROM MY RECENT NOTES ON THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

PART I.

RUSSIA, INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN.

The Russian Annexation of Merv.

On the advent of Lord Ripon in India, the present writer took special care in representing the state of affairs on the North-West frontiers of this Empire, presuming that, as the honest opinion of one of the thinkers in the country, it may count upon a passing reflection. The collapse of the political party in England about that time was, perhaps, too fresh to permit the new Viceroy to adopt a policy which the Conservatives had pushed on, but which the Liberals had, in a certain measure, denounced. Our own exposition of a policy in respect of the advance of Russia on the Persian and Afghanistan frontiers attempted to steer clear of the prejudices and passions which had rent England asunder in respect of its attitude towards Russia in Central Asia, knowing full well that the party in power, when the time came, was not likely to sacrifice Indian interests, or the British prestige.

In consequence of the recent subjugation of Merv by Russia, the old question of its advance towards India has again been agitated in the British Parliament. The Russian usurpation of Merv is likely, after some time, to lead to important frontier disputes between that country and Afghanistan. The Asiatic frontiers of Russia are now more closely conterminous with those of Afghanistan, with Sarakhs on the one extremity, and Kashgar on the other. Further, Russia has now approached the north-eastern frontier of Persia. England has not thought fit to check the Russian advance upon Merv. When Merv was to be annexed Russia declared its frontier line, east of the Sumber, would run north to the

Attock, in the boundaries of Deregez, Mahomedabad, Kilat and Sarakhs. Having got over the objective point of Merv, the Russians are naturally inclined to set up a delimitation between itself on the one hand, and the Persians, Afghans and Turcomans on the other. It is apprehended that the Attock will also, in course of time, be swallowed by Russia, its movement from Askabad, eastwards, being unfavorable to the defence of India. It is also apprehended that Russia, on the part of Bokhara, may lay claim on Wakhan, Shignan, and Rosban, which are the disputed districts of Afghanistan, on which, however, Russia presumes to advance certain old rights.

It is fortunate at this stage of affairs that the Liberal statesmen in England are not inclined to look upon the Russian advance as requiring no action from the lord paramount of India. They have informed the Parliament that they are negotiating with Russia with reference to a permanent understanding necessary to establish between the two countries as to how far the advance of Russia can be consummated southward towards India. It is admitted on all sides that, though it was necessary for Russia to push through the Central Asian deserts on its mission of civilization, dexterous efforts have been employed to advance towards India in directions which should now be controlled by England. Suspicions are now aroused that it aims at acquiring undue strength, calculated to affect the balance of power of several European, Asiatic and Indo-British Kingdoms. That the Liberal Ministry should itself begin to entertain some such suspicion, in howsoever a remote manner, is a fact on which we congratulate the Indian princes and people alike. We are specially gratified at the dawning of this national feeling in England, for when both the Conservatives and the Liberals are generally agreed upon a similar line of action, India's dearest interests are sure to be indicated.

The time is now come when violent conflicting opinions, which have prevailed for many years on the subject, can be given a permanent repose, and when the feverish anxieties as to the insecurity of the Indian dominions can be set at rest for a portion, if not for a whole, of a century. With due deference to the high ability of the authorities in London, we would submit that something more should be done than the direct negotiations now conducted between the Metropolis of Her Majesty and that of the Czar. Some amount of direct responsibility should be thrown over the Governors-General of India in Council, who are more

intimately acquainted with the public feelings and conditions in the several States in Central Asia, now partly domineered over by Russia. It is the high Indian authorities who can exactly feel the effects created by the movements of Russia on those tribes and chiefs, whose allegiance it is essential for British India to secure. It is the Indian Viceroy and his counsellors who can ascertain at first hand what would be the measures which would serve to keep Russia within its legitimate bounds and preserve peace and prosperity in those outlying States on our frontier, which Russia gradually seeks to weaken in its own aggressive interests. It is advisable that a Commission should be appointed in India with a view to proceed on the frontiers to decide upon the boundaries of all the large and small powers, which, thenceforth, none of them could venture to violate. The Commission may consist of two or three statesmen of marked ability from India, such as the Hon'ble Mr. T. C. Hope and others, and the representatives of the Russian Emperor. Unless an able Commission proceeds to the spot and deliberates on the plan to be adopted after exhaustive enquiries into the character, capacity and needs of each of the more prominent tribes and kingdoms, no substantial solution of the difficulty will be possible. A Commission of this sort may be directed to entertain a masterly conception of the interests of each of the peoples and the States, and to concede every possible benefit to every party involved in the settlement. All of them will thus be influenced by currents of intimate knowledge and sympathies paving the way for that adjustment of dissensions and quarrels which mutual friendliness, discussion and forbearance can alone bring about. What is the use of Russia always let alone with all sorts of inferior and impoverished people whom it could always overawe? Or why should those people and the various States, such as above described, not have the advantage of impartial guidance, or a control moderated with measures of expediency and justice emanating from a Government like that of the British? The whole evil at present consists in letting an absolute power to trample upon weak nationalities without confining the former within the limits of well-defined responsibilities. As we have often stated, both the Russian and British Governments have a civilized calling to follow in Asia; what should now be firmly done is to define the respective boundaries of both—within which each one should exercise its benevolent sway. This done under solemn treaties, we shall no more hear of Russian treacheries, or of the alleged imbecility of English statesmen. I

Lord Ripon succeeds in persuading the English Cabinet to adopt some such measure as we have here put down, and be able to carry it through, he will have considerably added to the deep obligations he has already conferred on the country.—*4th May* 1884.

Russia and India.

We noticed in our last paper the agitation caused in the British Parliament in consequence of the Russian conquest of Merv, which places Herat virtually at the feet of that ambitious Power. Having conquered Turkestan and all the Khanates of Central Asia, in spite of England's unwillingness, it has struck on the north-west frontier of Afghanistan, its northern border being previously secured. It must be admitted that Russia could not have satisfied itself with its march through the wilds of Central Asia, without pushing on the confines of wealthy empires, thus rendering its influence felt. Hitherto it had struggled to conquer insignificant little States, though possessed of warlike material. Having secured these States, it now lies, or will at no very distant date lie, side by side with the leading powers in Lower Asia, and especially with the Paramount Power ruling our own country. That Russia has ever considered England an inconvenient thorn by its side in both Asiatic and European countries, and that, therefore, it has been fast descending upon the northern and north-west confines of India, can admit of no doubt. Unless England feels strong and supplants it in the neighbourhood, where it makes its stealthy marches, both Afghanistan and Persia must come below its thumb. Russia has hitherto had a good deal to fear from England. Russia has known this to its cost on several occasions, such as what it had to suffer at Crimea and the check which it received more recently in Turkey. It seems to have moved its chessboard in another direction altogether, having failed elsewhere for the last quarter of a century. But we must view its movements towards this part of the world from another stand-point. But for Russia the Central Asian kingdoms would have been rendered a perfect curse, and both Persia and Afghanistan would have only served to render that fair portion of the earth a greater desolation than ever. Russia is putting down plunder and bloodshed, checking abnormal slaveries, and is introducing order and civilization in the barbarous tracts that it has subdued. Its proximity to Herat and Cabul is a sort of indirect co-operation with England in spreading civilization in unfortunate Asia. What we, the princes and people of India,

have to look to is,—these near possessions of mighty powers do not form, in course of time, a mine of gunpowder underneath us, doing the teeming populations of India incalculable mischief. We shall be content to have the Russian bear as near us as may be desirable, but do not wish to see the Bear and the Lion converting the fair regions of the earth into a battle-field. We shall be glad to remain at peace with Russia, and even encourage its merchandize, but we should certainly resent its interference with our relations with the British power. Let it approach us as a kindly neighbour, but its evil eye on our peace and prosperity and our smooth-going civilization we shall damn with all our might and resolve. Russia! If you feel that England does not act magnanimously with you in Turkey and elsewhere, you may have your say there, and not here. We have already paid dear for our peace and for our consolidation as an empire, and our wealth and resources have already been thinned, so that we are now striving hard for their replenishment. We cannot, therefore, allow you to exercise your malicious grudge against England on the confines of India. We have suffered a good deal from the raids hurled on us from Central Asia. We shall now take care that no more of these occur in future. Russia! you dare not bring the beasts of the Khanates to pollute our sacred Indian soil. They will be infinitely more dreadful than our poverty, and infinitely more repulsive than our worst princes. Every one whom you might bring will be a ferocious brigand, and much more mischievous than a hungry, bloodthirsty beast. Rest quiet where you have advanced, for we know well your motives and your ability, and the savage propensities of your Generals.

We trust every native journal throughout the country, as every Anglo-Indian too, will take up this cry, and send the feeling deep into the mind of every native feudatory and every heart beating for England's supremacy.

We respectfully demand of England that she should keep her accounts with Russia square. England would do well by satisfying the aspirations of Russia. It won't do to always inflict chastisements on it. Great Britain should see to the great progress made by Russia now-a-days in the direction of India, and deal with it accordingly. England had not much to lose in past times; now she has, from the fact of the bear having stealthily come and sat at her door.

The policy of both countries may, however, all of a sudden produce a clash in spite of the conciliatory tendencies of both. Will not England,

therefore, be ready for a dark day? Are her resources in the East and the West sufficient to meet the Russian Bear in both quarters of the globe? On this subject we have reflected much and written a good deal. We have shown the weak points of the forces of the Indian Empire, and fully demonstrated how insufficient they are, and how culpably do we neglect to utilize the fine material at hand. Elsewhere we have demonstrated this exhaustively. We can repeat but little of that here. The forces of the Native States should not be neglected. Already those of the leading Native States of this Presidency are being reorganized in the way they ought to be. It is a sign of better times. But whatever has to be done should be done quickly and with full heart. Every possible improvement should be introduced in the rank and file of the forces of the Native States of India. You may not be able at present to impart to them a first-rate efficiency, but make them fairly warlike. It is a culpable thoughtlessness if they are left alone wherever they could be subject to discipline and work. Any time we may want a lakh or more of the imperial army to defend our frontiers alone, while a good deal of resources may be needed in Europe simultaneously. Yet, again, considerable numbers would be required to keep internal order. If, therefore, we had a lakh and a half of native army from the States, each of the many important points in India could be garrisoned, partly by the British and partly by the force of a Native State, while the most capable army could be sent on to fight the enemy. To let some of the more deserving Native Chiefs share in the glory of the defence, their armies could even be sent to the frontiers, or elsewhere, to actively co-operate with the British columns. At present almost the whole fighting resources of the Native States are demoralized and wasted away in sheer idleness. What a mistaken political foresight! While there is yet time let the Foreign Office in India, we humbly submit, take up the whole question seriously. Some amount of confidence should be reposed in the loyalty of Native States. When some part of the native forces has been drilled and disciplined, it would rest with the British Government how to make use of it. It could be used in such a way that wherever it is put forward, it could be an instrument of good, and not of evil, in the interests of the Empire. Till full confidence could be reposed in them—and we dare say it could be in course of time—no part of the force need be granted any independent sphere, except in joint responsibility with the regiments especially trusted by the British. But we are almost sure that

any State who could produce a working regiment will also prove worthy of the highest trust which the Paramount Power could show it. No additional expenditure should be thrown over any State; but such States as can produce an army may utilize their present resources to a practicable extent. Again, no State should, in the case of a foreign aggression, bear more than its resources and its capability as a member of the Empire will admit of. Any delay on the part of the country in general to take definite action of the sort here mentioned would be deplorable. Russia has been always active in pursuance of the end it has so steadily kept in view. Can the Paramount Power of India and its important feudatories afford any longer to neglect the resources at their disposal? It is true that the naval power of the British can undo Russia in Europe in a swift and telling manner, but will such a retaliation compensate for the sufferings of this country, should Russia try to upset it from the Peshawar or Herat side? Let every house in native India be put in order before Russia endeavoured to tamper with it. The native kingdoms will in time be able to co-operate with the Empire at large in their own way. If this be pronounced a little more ambitious for them than desirable, every Native State, which has some fighting infantry and cavalry to boast of, can at least look after its own principality, and thus save the country at large from multiplied exertions and anxieties. Good princes of India, and ye thrice-blessed Government of the Queen! Arise, and be on the alert, while the time is so favorable to work.—*11th May* 1884.

An Anglo-Russian Commission at last!—a word for the genuine Persians in India.

THE Simla correspondent of the *Times of India* announces by telegraph that an Anglo-Russian Commission will proceed early next autumn to demarcate the northern part of Afghanistan. We shall not for the present deal with the question of the limit proposed as given by the same writer. Probably the information given is not full, for the frontier on the Persian side is also to be taken into account. On the same authority it is stated that difficulties in the way of practically proposing this Commission have already been removed as between the English and the Russian Governments, though it is not certain "what officers will represent India."

This intelligence causes us very great satisfaction, as it must to all those having the permanent peace of the country at heart. It will be remembered that we had, in these columns, strongly pointed out the

necessity of deputing such a Commission. The announcement, if true, proves at least the desirability of the suggestion made. It is noteworthy that it is no longer considered that a deputation direct from the British Cabinet alone could carry out the object with efficacy. We shall watch with interest how the constitution of this deputation, which India will also have the honor to represent, is finally decided upon. There can hardly be a doubt that distinguished officials who have an immediate and acute knowledge of Central Asia as well as India will sit on this Commission. As we humbly believe, the Indian part of the Commission will hardly be complete unless a large minded, extremely shrewd, sagacious and diplomatic administrator like the present Public Works Minister of the Viceroy is deputed as President of the Indian deputation. We make this suggestion with unreserved independence, for we are entirely ignorant of what the views of the Hon'ble Mr. Hope are on this subject. His invaluable knowledge of the country is rendered more significant by his recent experience of the imperial P. W. Department. His knowledge of Oriental character, his sincere love for the country, and his keen and sagacious instincts may render a permanent service to India in the present cause. He will be a formidable, though quiet, match to any Russian diplomatist brought in the field. It is certain that he will never be taken in by any consummate wiles of either a Russ, an Afghan, or a Turcoman.

The escort may be composed of able natives of local knowledge and imperial integrity. One of these at least should be a genuine Persian claiming imperial confidence. We sincerely hope that Lord Ripon's distinguished Indian career may be signalized by that happy break in the diplomatic policy of British India which may admit into imperial confidence some of India's best sons—patriots of the country as well as profound loyalists in the Queen's Empire. The reasons for extending this imperial confidence to the ever loyal Parsis of India are at once most rational as they are most cogent. It may well be the lot of the Gladstonian Government to do justice to the aspirations of a reforming nation which once commanded a large Empire in Central Asia. A mighty nation despoiled of one of the most famous empires of the world might, on the basis of far-seeing and chivalrous public policy, be associated with modern diplomatists, to whom a Persian colleague, though of an entirely subordinate character, would certainly prove a fully reliable acquisition and a credit. His re-admission into the ancient provinces, where his nation ruled for

thousands of years, can essentially and legitimately bear the character of a most conciliatory medium, and an appreciative friend of the anarchical and semi-barbaric countries. While his deputation to the scene of his ancient country must inexpressibly rejoice the Parsi nation, young and old, would also sow the seed of an immense future utility to the British Government, pave the way to their beneficial and tentative introduction into the service of the Central Asian States on the same principle as is in vogue in Native States, and relieve a little the pressure on superior Indian services. The fresh element indicated for Foreign and British diplomatic service may always be kept under Indian control, as it will surely be of great service to the Paramount Power itself. Altogether, the cause we most respectfully advocate is worthy of the practical, generous and liberal statesmen who now rule over us, and must leave a decided landmark in the history of their achievements to be followed on a broadening and ever broadening basis of universal approbation and esteem.—15*th June* 1884.

One feature of Skobeloff's plan of invading India was, to quote his words, "to organize masses of Asiatic cavalry and hurl them on India as our vanguard, under the banner of blood and rapine, thus bringing back the times of Tamerlane."

The Threat of a Russian Demon.

It is deplorable that Mr. Seymour Keay's indictment against the British Government should attract proportionally far more serious attention than the above utterance of a Russian Devil, which has been lately unearthed from a confidential despatch of Skobeloff to his illustrious masters at St. Petersburg. We denounce Skobeloff as the veriest Devil, for we must charitably suppose that the Russian diplomatists and nation could not be at heart so wicked towards a sister country as this one of their misguided councillors. The expression of this violent design has been followed by a remarkable descent of Russia upon the frontiers of Afghanistan and Persia. What we, native writers, have now to bear in mind is, if at any moment relations between England and Russia are disturbed in Europe, a serious commotion may be expected by half a lakh of Huns with the wild [illegible] of Central Asia fronting us at the North-West, or other equally accessible corner of Upper India, when Mr. Seymour Keay's assertion that our Government has got possession of India by fraud and force would surely evaporate. And we should further expect to be hampered in our discussions about the

age of the Civil Service candidates, or the propriety of saddling India with the Church expenses of the British soldiers employed in defending India.

The earnest, sound and honest patriots of the country would be so glad of an agitation of the latter questions if we were found twenty or thirty times more earnest in discovering what the terrible words of the Devilish Russ, above quoted, actually mean. We repeat we deplore—most sadly deplore—that this utterance of the Russ has not been one hundred times more scrutinized than the rusty allegation of Mr. Keay has been throughout the country. A very well intentioned and clever gentleman—but he has been leading us into a totally false and mischievous track. When the Russians have fairly approached the Gate of India with a bloody imaginary banner on their front above depicted, we to propagate the teaching of Mr. Keay, that the British is a band of horrid spoliators, is upsetting our scale of reason altogether. We certainly like to be told where the natives can strengthen their position in due relation to the integrity of the Empire, but we must consider the question of its foundations as far superior to any that now agitate India till at least that question of overwhelming importance is satisfactorily disposed of both in England and India.

We must earnestly request every native contemporary, as also the Anglo-Indian, not to lose sight of the question of Russian advance towards Herat till the world is sure that the disgraceful threat against India has been freed of its base sting. If Russia is not allowed to do what it thinks proper in Europe and Asiatic Turkey, it must immediately employ measures to threaten the honor and peace of a foreign, innocent and quiet Oriental Empire! It must hurl on us the murderous and greedy hordes of Central Asia, and thus recover the expenses of her ruinous conquests in the wilds of Asia above us!

It behoves every Native State and every important native community to resent this rapacious design. We need not fly into a fit, but must seriously think of strengthening the position of each province in India, so that, individually, it may become stronger, and, collectively, our Empire may be sustained without a chance occurring of its being violated by a foreign foe.

When the question of occupying Candahar was mooted, we pointed out the grounds on which its friendly occupation was urgently called for. The Russian occupation of Merv and Sarakhs, and its further advance towards Herat in prospect, must now force the British Government to possess itself of the passes leading into Afghanistan. Our proposal four years ago was to

catch time by the forelock. We proposed to postpone the evacuation of the country of the Afghans, occupy a portion of it permanently, and so organize the Government that the finances may be improved, and a force organized for the defence of the country against Russian aggressions. Russia wanted to achieve some object in Turkey. England could not tolerate it, and sent a fleet to the Dardanelles. Russia, in its turn, fired a match in Cabul, plunged India into a costly war, and brought on the death of poor Shere Ali by abandoning him at the last moment. Henceforth is it to be admitted that India should be made a sport of the warlike parties as well, as she is of the English political parties ?

However unpleasant the contingency—we have to face it ; we have to admit clearly that the force we have in India are only meant for preserving the peace *in* the country. When first organized, the contingency of a disturbance in Europe giving rise to the movement of hundreds of thousands of hostile troops in the vicinity of India was hardly conceived. A large part of the British strength, both in England and India, may be withdrawn for the battle-field in Europe. The point to be considered then is—what strength would remain available for the frontiers and internal purposes. That strength must be inadequate, while the present course of mistrusting Native States, as regards their military organization, would be a grievous source of weakness.

The best authorities have been talking about the difficulties in fixing the frontiers to remain on the defensive. Such frontiers, in our opinion, should comprise the whole of Afghanistan. Is there any doubt left of the great danger of remaining in the rear of any of the Afghan tribes or any part of the country ? The abandoned country and the tribes, unless they are placed under our authority, must be won over and used by Russia. Cabul, Candahar and Herat should therefore be quickly placed under the civilizing influences of India. The resources of these provinces should *belong to England and not to Russia. It* would be woeful to have any more wars raging within the confines of India. For protecting weak India, and saving the honor of England as the leading nation of the civilized world, Russia should be disposed of out and out.

Though we have fully demonstrated our views on the necessity of judiciously reforming the forces of the Native States, and taking Afghanistan under our direct and honest control, we are prepared to modify our convictions, if these have not been quite right.

It would be a prudent policy not to go so far near Russia that a war between the two Powers may be easily provoked. Any inaction or delay by the British Government, as far as it may be due to this reason, can be well comprehended. But very strong reasons will be required to believe that it was a perfectly wise measure to have abandoned Afghanistan just when we could have easily taken it under our provisional, or limited control. Possibly a friendly understanding with Russia on graver points might have rendered the evacuation of Candahar in 1880 desirable, full reasons for which being at present unknown. It cannot be denied that England cannot exercise a disproportionately large influence against Russia in Europe and other parts of the world, without compromising the universal effects of civilization on the world in general. If a vulnerable point existed beyond the confines of Afghanistan, England would be less tempted to offer any obstruction to the progress of Russia, which may be considered of a somewhat wanton character. On the other hand, we have to bear in mind that, occasionally, with the best of desires on both sides to avoid a conflict, the mutual relations of both Powers may reach a straining point when peace would be impossible. In practical diplomacy, and in matters of sovereign prestige, no abstract rules of right or wrong can always and invariably subdue human passions and prejudices. We cannot therefore know for certain when a mine may be fired. In this event, as England would be at liberty to destroy the dominions of Russia at any accessible point, so will Russia seek the weakest point of the British Empire. Will the past anarchical sufferings of India and its present poor condition be able to appeal to the instincts of a foe bent upon a complete devastation? Of course not. A calamity, which cannot be expressed in words, may befal every member of the Empire, whatever may be the eventual result. The strongest and most humane Government cannot repair for half a century the ravages once caused by war to a peaceful country. The tribes and rulers on our frontiers are naturally fierce and warlike. It would be dangerous to leave them in a shaky and halting condition. Let them be so secured that they may prove thoroughly loyal to India. We have strenuously advocated a gradual intercourse between the Afghans and Indians. While the less civilized Russians have amalgamated with the barbaric hordes of Central Asia, we keenly feel our isolation from the Afghans, who can so well protect us in the worst possible position. In the interests of India, Afghanistan should no doubt be rendered friendly

and independent. It is doubtful, however, that it can remain strong and self-protective without the British Government undertaking to directly assist the Amir in all his vital affairs. The combination of Afghans with the British will on all sides be considered more beneficial and welcome to the former than their subjugation by the Russians. The other equally potent advantage is the capacity of this country to provide an almost indefinite scope for the trading resources of Afghanistan which now lie dormant. The present isolation of Afghanistan is seriously prejudicial to the interests of both countries. It is a pity the British Government have not yet perceived the manifold advantages of permitting a political and judicious mixture of certain loyal sects of India with those of the neighbouring country. The real key to secure immunity from the apprehensions now persistently raised by Russia lies in granting that brute and moral force to Afghanistan which the British, in co-operation with India, could grant without causing the depressing evils a greedy and semi-scrupulous power would cause to a weaker neighbour. Afghanistan should be so constituted gradually, that it may become as willing to resist foreign aggressions as Baroda or Mysore, or any other loyal Native State in India. For, then, Afghanistan will instinctively feel that it would have everything to lose and nothing to gain by the extinction of the British Government.

There is another factor in the frontier affairs which we *cannot* ignore, though it has a direct reference to affairs in *Europe*. We have to open our eyes to the fact that England cannot possibly take any step relating to the Persian and Afghan frontiers which can affect her relations in Europe through the instrumentality of Russia, or that on any complications arising in Europe with Russia and other powers, any step taken in the East should not be calculated to estrange England from the prevailing harmony. The Commission which we some time ago suggested for the demarcation of the various frontiers should also have the ablest of the plenipotentiaries of England, with a view that he may set forth every possible contingency in Europe and Asia which may bear upon the newly-to-be-adjusted relations of India with Russia. Any Commission to be composed should be complete in all its parts. That completion can be attained by the nominations from India which we have already suggested, and by the adoption of the further recommendation we beg leave to make, that as Russia will be represented by its imperial representative, so should England depute one of its Crown Agents (*Elchi*), who may have thoroughly mastered the

diplomatic intricacies of Europe and Asia and their extremely complicated foreign and international relations. We shall pursue in the next paper the statement of definite measures we are desirous of respectfully proposing to the distinguished head now ruling over India.—*22nd June* 1884.

The Anglo-Russian Commission.

We had laid some stress on the theory advanced by us some time ago that in any Commission appointed to fix the boundaries of the Russo-Persian-Afghan territories, on the borders of Afghanistan and Herat, as affecting India, "England should depute one of its Crown Agents (*Elchi*), who may have thoroughly mastered the diplomatic intricacies of Europe and Asia and their extremely complicated foreign and international relations." Subsequent events have shown that both this and our other theory, that it was necessary that experienced officers should be deputed to settle the boundaries once for all by proceeding on the spot with the representatives of the other Powers, have proved to be correct. A full Commission has been appointed of a number of varied officers who have had much dealings with affairs on our North-Western frontiers, and the Afghan, Turkestan, Turcoman and Persian States beyond them. It appears that the only officers who have been appointed have seen services in the foreign, political and military departments, and the unfulfilled part of the suggestions thrown out by us from time to time was due to where we thought there were special reasons for making the principle more elastic than the conventional rules of Government allowed.

The appointment of Sir Peter Lumsden is from London. As one of the recent members of the India Council, with his actual experience of our frontier and Afghan affairs, he must have thoroughly made himself conversant with the traditions, policies and susceptibilities of Her Majesty's Government at home as affecting its vital relations with those of other Powers in Europe and Asia. He is shortly expected in India with his distinguished Mahomedan Secretary, who has seen much political service at Cabul as Native Agent of the Viceroy at that Court. Sir Lumsden is further well equipped with a staff of experienced Indian officials. There is very little to criticise in the constitution of the Commission, it already being settled. That the head of the Commission should combine Indian knowledge with his direct acquaintance with the feelings of the British Cabinet and the India Office, is a great advantage impartially secured by t

The fixing of the authoritative *hud* by the representatives of England, Russia, Afghanistan, and Persia, is, in itself, a difficult and complex task to accomplish. It is forgotten by the general public that the question of the hud is one which would tend to revolutionize, in a certain degree, numerous relations *of States and tribes, which, however naturally involved, do now* stand on some generally understood basis, though apt to be occasionally violated. Whatever settlement that is made, it will of course have to be operative. Each Power will see to its effect as concerning itself. Persia may show a more encroaching spirit towards Afghanistan and other lesser tribes. The Amir has some serious contentions with Persia and certain tribes, which hitherto have been unruly. The interest of Russia is to descend towards Herat and Cabul as much as possible. We have not sufficient information at hand as to the precise points and directions aimed at by these Powers.

At any rate, one important measure will have been achieved if the Commission succeeds. Public agitation and disturbance of feelings may be stopped when the Russian advance is finally demarcated under expressly laid down terms. Whether an agreement is arrived at with Russia or not, if she is incited to take the offensive on the Cabul or Herat side, she will do so under any condition. But she cannot outstep the limits, if once fixed, in *any ordinary state of affairs. When she does so under any of her usual* pretexts, at least one thing will be clear to all concerned parties,—that she is committing a breach of faith. What she has been doing for years in the way of advancing her frontiers without any necessity for placing herself on the offensive, she would not be able to do as soon as the various frontier lines have been settled. If any tribe or State gave her trouble, she will not have the choice of putting her step forward and annexing that recalcitrant tract to her domains. Her only recourse would be to resort to diplomatic remonstrances and appeals to friendly Powers, and no dreaded measures of military subjugation and wholesale absorption. It is to be hoped that the Commission will devise a permanent plan of arbitration to dispose of all disputes or conflicts which may arise between the tribes themselves, or between any tribe and State, or between one State and another. Such a Commission as Sir Lumsden's—which we trust will effectually close its labors before the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon ends—ought to be able to impose a sense of responsibility, in reference to territorial, political and international conduct, on each of the States and

tribes which, in future, are to fall under the suzerainty of Russia o England, as may be decided by the Commission. It would, no doubt, b difficult in persuading all the tribes to accept the sovereignty of any of th Eastern Powers—at least those of the tribes who have led a wild an unrestrained life. But that every one of these must accept the guidanc of the larger Powers is, we believe, a certainty.—10*th August* 1884.

Indian Dangers.

We wrote in a tone of emphatic warning upwards of a decade ago tha the military strength of India was so inadequate tha the mere anxiety not to incur additional expenditur would involve the Empire in serious consequences. Dreading also th risk of increased taxation, and desiring a higher political position fo Native States, we pointed out for utilization their unused resources foun in the present rabble of about 350,000 men maintained by them. Afte many years of fruitless (or if it is fruitful we cannot just now confidentl say) writing, we now come across certain very emphatic statements made in the columns of the *St. James's Gazette* by an administrator holding one of the most responsible positions in the Indian Government. The revelation he makes is very alarming. Whether the public should accept it or not, they may at least be informed of it. He writes thus on the inefficiency of our Army :—

In 1858, after the Mutiny had been fairly got under, we maintained 108,000 British troops in India ; to-day there are but 52,000. Our native army, too, is nearly 50 per cent. below its numbers in 1858. *The regiments of the Madras and Bombay armies* as a whole, and many of the Bengal regiments also, are wanting in those qualities which modern armies should possess. The men are recruited from unwarlike races ; British officers are too few in number and far too old ; native officers are uneducated and feeble. In the Sikh, Goorkha, and Punjab *frontier regiments, undeniably the best in the army,* the average length of service of company commanders is twenty-nine and of subalterns twenty-four years. The difficulty in obtaining an adequate supply of recruits for our native army and the difficulty of retaining the services of our short-service men are in themselves adequate proof of the unpopularity of soldiering as a profession, whether in India or England.

The strategic position of Russia in relation to India is thus described :—

Herat is the acknowledged key of India. Even so staunch a Liberal as Mr. Grant Duff has said that we must fight rather than allow Russia to gain possession of it. Russian outposts at this present moment are but 270 miles from Herat ; ours are over 500 ! In the north, Russian roops are at Samte and Kilif, whence they can reach Balkh and Chitral far sooner than we can. With Russian troops at Balkh an advance to Cabul is imperative ; with Russian troops at Chitral an advance to Cabul is an impossibility.

What can be sent up to the front at a moment's notice, on which we have so often spoken, is stated below :—

It has often been said that England's extremity will be Russia's opportunity. It would seem no fairer opportunity for enterprise than now presents itself. Many of our best troops will soon be engaged beyond hope of recall in the Soudan and the Transvaal ; one army corps is locked up in Ireland ; Lord Cardwell's Army of Reserve, which in 1878 was to number 80,000, has no existence Our authorities would be puzzled to send 10,000 trained and capable men to India at a month's notice, whatever the emergency ; and Russia, as you have shown us, can move 200,000 upon our Indian frontier (some of them from points of vantage already gained) in four-and-twenty hours. To-morrow we may hear that the ball has been set rolling. I fear that even "personal friendship" will not avail us anything in this case. Bold decided action, and an army and navy commensurate with our wealth and our needs, will alone enable us to face the enemies at our gates.

The fleet of the China Station and that comprising the East India Squadron is pronounced to be merely a "phantom" fleet, there being, it is said, not a single torpedo boat, nor a single armour-piercing gun in our harbours. "The combined Russian and French fleets "include seven ironclads of the second class, carrying breach-loading "guns varying from 25 to 43 tons, and armour from 10 to 14 "inches in thickness. Not only our fleets but our harbours are at the "mercy of these our hereditary foes." The arterial communications in India are described as incomplete, while any leading to the trans-Indus provinces do not exist, so that Russia can penetrate the Suleman range by the Cabul, Gomul and Bolan Passes without any obstruction.

We do not fall in quite with the alarmist tone adopted. The English Ministers who preside over the serious concerns of the world should know better than *Trans-Indicus-Olim* whom we have quoted. We have simply to look into the weaknesses attached to the instability of political parties at home. The point of collision between England, Russia and other nations cannot possibly be overlooked. For a general rupture day, every part of the empire should feel strong enough. It won't do if Russia is attacked in one quarter that it should then turn upon India and involve it in murderous anarchy. As our forces are insufficient we may have to face this contingency some day. We had to write pamphlet after pamphlet to show that unless the Native States were made strong and contented, that unless we effected a friendly occupation of Afghanistan, when we were there, and when we could have done the thing so easily, and organized the whole country in a military [illegible]

material sense, India would not be safe against the dangerous approach o Russia. The Delimitation Commission must end in Russia establishin herself close to the confines of Afghanistan. Thus her accession of physic and brute forces will reach the maximum, while the Indian Governmen when Afghanistan fell into their grasp, did hardly anything to husban their resources beyond the frontiers of India.

Have we, then, asked in vain the deputations that will wait on Ea Dufferin on his arrival in India to impress on the mind of His Excellenc the extreme necessity of directing the most serious attention to th military reorganization of India, in which the reform of the armies o Native States by their own chiefs should play a prominent part? Th work is of such vast magnitude, besetted with such unusual difficulties, tha not a moment should be lost in the people and Native States of Indi interesting themselves in bringing the question to the front to procure it satisfactory solution. The more Russia advances the greater will be th difficulties in dealing with the question in a quiet and effective manner This is *the* question on which the attention of the whole country should be most seriously engaged. India should be prepared for the worst, no matte if the worst came to-morrow, or some time hence, or never. We shoulc not mind so much as Russia becoming our close neighbour as that we should be able to thrust it back whenever it chose to take the offensive against us.—23*rd November* 1884.

Russia, or the Indian Danger.

Of all the political questions now affecting the condition of India, that of the reported design of Russia on India is most important, deserving of the utmost consideration of all in India. The patriots of the country are parading their various grievances, in which they are not altogether wrong. If, however, they did so after fully satisfying us that they have understood the Russo-Perso-Afghan question, and that they do not think it need cause any anxiety to India, we should not blame them. But we do blame them for their want of foresight and for their tendency to waste their precious time in wholly devoting themselves to minor internal affairs, while we are not sure as to the forces now working in our foreign relations, which may or may not disturb the whole country eventually. The question of the Empire's safety does not rest in the hands of one political party in England, nor is influenced by any solitary or local considerations. To

be sure of the permanent peace of India, we must not only be sure of the adequacy of our own Imperial and feudatories' forces, but of the good faith of our several Eastern neighbours and of the powerful States in Europe and Asia, who have so much to do with our parent country and its dependencies. We should like to have the name of *one* native of India directly or indirecty engaged in dealing with Indian problems, who may have influenced the public mind in a practical manner in reference to this question of the most serious import.

What our public men have to do is to persuade the Government in England to explain how India need not be anxious as to the sufficiency of the British and Native military strength to cope with any amount of force which Russia may possibly amass on the Herat, Cabul, or any other sides of India. We have some of the highest Indian authorities declaring in the strongest terms that if Russia chose to descend upon the plains of India, British India cannot count upon even half of the military force requisite to repel it. It is a sad commentary on the doings of native patriots of India that Englishmen should seem to perceive dangers of the highest magnitude to this country, while the former have as yet failed to gain any practical idea about them.

It is possible that no immediate danger may be apprehended; that the only serious thing which may be apprehended is the natural desire of Russia, while the respective frontiers have to be marked out, to extend its own jurisdiction as much as possible towards Afghanistan and India. If this be the minimum of our apprehensions, we are bound to see that Russia is not permitted to occupy any strategic points on the side of Persia and Afghanistan which may in future weaken our hold on those countries and the tribes subject to their influence. While there is a lasting potent force in Russia perfectly consistent, so far as pushing on and on its frontiers towards India is concerned, we cannot count upon the same motive force owing to the changing tactics of political-parties in England. It therefore betrays our incompetency in that we have shown no inclination to keep public attention centred in this question in the midst of changes which are being so surely wrought in the Central Asian politics by a first class power able to commit widespread mischief. It is very probable that in the midst of party strifes in England, India may lose certain advantages which its strongest and direct advocates [illegible] secure. No one seem to care to know the motive of Russia [illegible]

to meet the Commission of Sir Peter Lumsden. We must try to ascertain if Russia wishes to absent itself in this demarcation business, thereby indirectly intimating us that it will not be bound with any decision the Indian Government may now arrive at. Or is it waiting for some party rupture in England before taking a step of some great importance? Or is her abstention from joining the Commission due to her unwillingness to adopt the boundaries which are likely to be dictated by our Government? There may be some foundation for different suppositions of this sort. In any case we are called upon to ascertain the exact position of affairs. As in matters pertaining to an important diplomacy, so in respect of any probably serious contingency, we find public opinion in India so far weak that to-morrow serious complications might arise without our being able to know how to meet them. It is not in a day that India can throw out an organized army sufficient to destroy any anarchical force which may be brought to bear upon it. No duty can, therefore, be more imperative than to press the British Government to recognize the strength of its Indian allies, to seek to renovate and regulate it, and to feel certain that on a day of trouble India can not only rout every possible adversary, but it can undo it even before it inflicted any direct calamities on India—and even if England should not have been able to despatch a Reserve. As we have maintained over and over again—though our cry has hitherto been a cry in the wilderness, especially as affecting our native patriots and publicists—the question of the military reorganization of the Indian Empire to be effected in full light and publicity, resorted to when safe to do so, is the one question before which every other Indian question must give way till satisfactorily settled once for all. Whether the public men in India are competent to deal with it or not, we beseech the Earl of Dufferin to exert his influence, ability, and high and tried personal powers to the utmost in achieving this result of supreme importance during his term of Viceroyalty. Whatever else His Lordship may be able to do, his success in this direction will for all times to come remain unrivalled in the permanent security afforded to the Empire. The work of conserving our strength, and to work it up to its maximum point, is a most arduous one, to be skilfully, silently and consummately done—one which has certainly not any transient popularity to win. And it is such work that is likely, we think, to suit the consummate temperament of our present Viceroy. We earnestly desire His Lordship may have a personal and earnest conference with the Native

rinces, the Residents at their Courts, and the distinguished European and [ative dignitaries immediately responsible for the conduct and adequate rength of our active Armies in India. We beg that his attention may e drawn to the exhaustive State papers submitted to the Government of ndia by that astute and humane-hearted politician and statesman, Sir ichard Meade, late Resident of Hyderabad, as emanating from one nown for his deep-felt and long-continued interest in all that concerns he safety and good name of the British Empire, and the increasing ignity and prosperity of its native feudatories.—*8th February* 1885.

Duty of the Princes and the People

WHAT we have urged so frequently and so strongly that British India should not lose one moment in uniting with Native India in creating a larger and stronger force for the efence of the country must now clearly appear to have been dictated by he strongest reason that can be imagined for such an advocacy. We have urther urged that the Native Princes and people of India should themselves ombine to represent to the Paramount Power the inability of the country o defend itself during a very serious crisis. For it is deplorable to think hat if Great Britain failed any time to satisfy the Russian designs on Turkey, that Power should be allowed the opportunity of molesting the ndian Empire which has done no harm to Russia.

It is no secret now that Russia keenly desires to extend her frontiers close up to Herat, and even to push them into Afghanistan. The object s clearly to overawe all the rulers and tribes who interpose between the regular Indian frontiers and those of Russia beyond the Hindu Kush. The further and more important object is the criminal intimidation of India to be adopted whenever Russia desired to retaliate on England for any real or fancied wrong she may do to the former, not in respect of anything connected with India, but if England failed any time to satisfy the Russian cravings for Turkey.

It will be a bad time for India when Russia can subject it to any intimidation, which we consider nothing short of being criminal. She must be criminal, for she has now clearly intimated to England that if you don't let us have our own way on the Bosphorus, we shall attempt to injure India. We submit to the Government of India that this is a new phase of unprovoked enmity displayed towards India directly, though she has given no cause of offence to Russia. That country will, of course,

not venture to mention the *international* law under which it may possibly be justified to threaten an innocent country, while the cause of its disagreement lies with another.

How shall we deserve political freedom and unity if we have not even felt that an enemy is at our door, who can at any moment cause unrest and confusion in the country? Have the leaders of the country gone to the Government of India and told them that they are ready to support them in their measure of fortifying the Indian frontiers with a force sufficient enough to deter Russia from crossing the line, which Sir Peter Lumsden's mission has now practically laid down? Have our leaders impressed on the princes of India the desirability of their assuring the Suzerain Power at once that should they be allowed to organize their forces, they could be utilized by the British in the way they might wish for the permanent security of the Empire? Both the princes and the people should understand that the sovereign power can itself propose to utilize the feudatories' armies. Before, however, the Sovereign makes a move of this sort, it is better that we should make the proposal ourselves in a manner which would befit our dignity and enhance our safety. We deplore the apathy of the Indian leaders on this subject. When the whole country should be agitated to secure the reorganization of the military resources of India, we do not find a single journal, Anglo-Indian or Native, taking up the question with that earnestness which Mr. Robert Knight employs in persuading Lord Dufferin to reject the Bengal Tenancy Bill altogether. And yet that Bill is nothing in gravity compared to the unspeakable apathy which exists in India in reference to its literal safety. There is no use in creating an uproar in the matter, but how many years more should we speak in the wilderness in reference to the dangerous inadequacy and deplorable disunity of the military strength of India? That strength should be sufficient and united enough to rout any possible number of foes who may dare to cross the neutral zone beyond our frontiers. On a dire emergency we should not have to wait for succour from the mother-country.

We ask the leaders to bestir themselves in reference to this serious problem, than which no other Indian problem is more grave at the present moment. We predict that Russia is now waiting for an opportunity to advance towards our frontiers, which she will do as soon as it finds England hotly engaged in Egypt to avenge the most treacherous, the most

cruel murder of Gordon, one of the real Saviours of the World,—of the civilized and uncivilized races alike. While our tears will yet be fresh for his undeserved fate, criminal Russia will take a step as bad and as traiterous as that of the Mahdi, whose blood is now wanted for the permanent emancipation of a barbarous country and of his own ill-treated countrymen. To save the resources of the country from a greater future ruin, the present is the occasion to baffle the Russian design to tamper with Afghanistan and Persia to the detriment of India. The Russian limits have to be authoritatively laid down at the present moment with sufficient force to back up our decree. We exhort the British Government to make real and loyal warriors of the more trusted of the Native Princes and Noblemen and Commoners of martial spirit, and slap Russia severely for her constant criminal impudence to threaten the safety and happiness of a country which has done her no harm, directly or indirectly. We address our dear countrymen to move their energies and show themselves worthy of all the talk they have been indulging in for years in the interests of their country.

Will a million volumes full of talk in behalf of their capacity to govern India be of any earthly use, or compensate for the public mischief that may be caused by a few lakhs of Russian and Mahomedan hordes effecting an entrance into the North-West, or an hostile fleet destroying a few ports of India for the mere pleasure of humiliating the British in their foreign possessions? Surely not a day should be lost in taking the needful action. Take the action calmly and collectively, but take it without further delay or hesitation. Are we ready to forcibly intercept Russia from bullying Afghanistan, Persia, and other tribes, while England's troubles may increase abroad? Is it not the duty of every prince and every native community to think of the gravely responsible position we are now placed in by the suspicious and continuously humbugging and fraudulent attitude of Russia on our frontiers?—*22nd February* 1885.

The Rawal Pindi Conference and the chances of War or no War.

THE Anglo-Russian politics being fast removed from the pure region of speculation, the time has come when it can be said with some certainty which of the two great dogmatic parties has proved to be generally right. All those who have persistently maintained that the Northern Bear has been stealthily and dishonestly making forward move-

ments from the Oxus and the Caspian, with the ultimate object of menacing India, have always been pooh-poohed by their opponents, eager in asserting the good faith of Russians in extending their conquests in Central Asia—who have had, they say, no sinister object in view. The one party strongly urged England to check Russia long before she occupied Merv. The other party have always laughed at the alarm raised at every forward movement by Russia till they have practically approached the road leading to Herat. We were the only native writer in India who published in time a full exposition of the movements and designs of Russia in Central Asia; advocated the impolicy of dreading the Bear joining hands with the Lion on the northern borders of Afghanistan, and yet most emphatically warned the British Government to strengthen themselves, both internally and externally, against the coming struggle, and to devise special measures of conciliating Mahomedan fanaticism, the source of which we traced from the centre of India to the Islam countries, which Russia had then conquered as lying far beyond the northern regions of Afghanistan. Besides publishing a correct diagnosis of the transforming and agitating Central Asian affairs, we have for years together most earnestly pointed out the necessity of strengthening and confiding in Native States, and bringing them up as no nominal, but practical auxiliaries of the Suzerain Power. So far have we felt the direness of this necessity, that even when there appeared not the least chance of a conflict on the Afghan borders we maintained that not a day be lost in taking up the reorganization of the armies of the Native States. And yet we have never allowed ourselves to be enlisted either on the side of the one party or the other. Many successive events have given us no reason to change our convictions, which have only grown stronger day by day.

We are not of the opinion that the British Commission, in the neighbourhood of Herat, has been a useless or dangerous affair. Far from being so, all India ought to take it as the most significant sentinel doing us an invaluable, but a quite unperceived, service as against the painfully uncertain and unknown affairs between the Caspian and the Murghab. As far as we may see, Sir Peter Lumsden is at present placed in the most responsible position at the same time that he occupies a position securing peace for India and Afghanistan. He must now be able to let us know precisely the limits of various sovereignties in the neighbourhood of Sarakhs and Herat. He can let us know how far the region of Afghanistan has

practically extended; whether the Russians have violated the express Afghan limits of jurisdiction; whether there were any tracts over which any sovereignty was *dormant* which either the Russians, on the part of the Turcomans and others, have confiscated, or the Cabul Amir has recently got possession of; whether any of the two Powers has seized upon any territory expressly belonging to the opposite party; or whether the whole dispute is only in reference to regions over which no sovereignty ever existed, and which both Russia and Afghanistan are in a hurry to seize to as great an extent as possible before the delimitation is defined. The suspicion at present is that Russia has made unlawful encroachments upon the Afghan frontiers. Before this suspicion can be removed, it is for Russia to give a clear proof that her recent seizures have legitimately belonged to the tribes she has conquered. Unless the Amir plays some double game with India, we cannot believe that he has ventured to garrison certain outposts though not belonging to him. In a very backward Asiatic kingdom it is possible for remote and outlying districts to remain neglected till they are placed in some danger. That they were not before garrisoned can be no excuse for a Russian aggression. Whatever be the ethnological affinities of the Turcomans with the people claimed by the Amir as his subjects, that circumstance can by no means warrant Russia to appropriate any integral portion of the Afghan kingdom. The right of sovereignty over remote parts of an eastern kingdom may long remain dormant till vivified by foreign intrigue and usurpation. The British Government have to meet one reasonable argument by the Russians, that disturbances within the Afghan limits, or beyond them in reference to her own subjects, must influence her to secure the quarters necessary for the preservation of peace in her own countries. This argument cannot of course be fully disposed of till the frontier line is settled and our Government is able to adopt effectual measures in preventing the Amir's subjects or other powers from creating any conflict on the Russian frontier. The task of ensuring such a peace, or suppressing all disturbances, will not eventually be found difficult by our Government soon after the settlement and a regular administration has been established at Herat. The only difficulty of any magnitude is the present one, and that also has to be skilfully overcome without forcing on this country one of the most singular, and at the same time barbarous, wars that was ever undertaken. While India and England should certainly put forward the strongest [illegible]

largest forces of the Army and the Navy, we are much annoyed at the present outlook that a national war should be seriously thought of in both the opposed countries. We do not mean that there is no likelihood of anything occurring in the immediate future that would constitute a *casus belli*. The stratagems of the Russians and their rapacious designs, in that they have annexed a series of very important regions crossing the Oxus, which they had expressly before declared were beyond the range of their conquests, have been too apparent. We have of course no reason to condemn Russia for her conquests, for they may be legitimate in the case of semi-barbarous and fanatic hordes she has been subjugating from time to time. But her designs are impure and liable to chastisement when they in the least degree would intimidate either Afghanistan or India.

She has no doubt committed herself so far that Great Britain has been compelled to make grand preparations for war. In spite of these preparations the sincere advice of this country should be to avoid war at the present juncture. We are not aware of the strength of feeling of Abdur Rahaman in respect of the encroachments made by Russia. If these encroachments are really intolerable, the world may as well know all at once how they are intolerable, or perfidious. If the usurpation of Russia is of little consequence, efforts should be made to gradually bring about her retirement from the objected ground. If she does not seriously intend war, she is likely to accept a compromise under which both the Amir and the Czar ought to yield something which would smoothen the way towards a compromise. If the Czar is bent on war the frontier line dictated by Russia must be such as neither Afghanistan nor England is likely to accept. An unprovoked aggression is no doubt a most difficult thing for a courageous and senior nation to bear. A wise and well-meaning nation will have exhausted every resource of tact and diplomacy before plunging into a sanguinary war. They would not mind making the largest possible cencessions compatible with safety and honor before bringing on a war, whether the opposite nation is weak or strong. There are many causes of excitement astir, but we firmly believe that neither Lord Dufferin nor the Cabinet authorities at home, headed by Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, are likely to be led away by that excitement. Those who direct the affairs will be guided by the Almighty, and He will keep their heads cool and their minds placid. If all of us have failed in checking Russia before she occupied Merv, we have now no reason to

quarrel with her if she has advanced as much as she reasonably could below Merv and Sarakhs. All that can be done justly and fairly is that she must be prevented from plundering and tampering with Afghanistan. If she has entertained any criminal design on Afghanistan; if she is even half sure that she could stir up a revolt in Afghanistan and incite the Afghans to turn upon the British as they advanced towards Herat; if she has any reason to believe in the inconstancy of the Afghan ally of the British or his fatal unpopularity or incapacity; if she is really inspired with the idea that she can pour down overwhelming forces of all sorts into the plains of India; if, further, she is animated by the base hope of replenishing herself by widespread plunder and a probable conquest of India and Afghanistan; if, again, she does not store much anxiety on the losses which may be inflicted on her by the British Navy or by other causes springing from a war in Europe or Asia, then we must say that the preparations for the war by the British should even be more energetic and more extensive than now. We cannot always be animated by what we were able to do at the Crimea. Since then Russia has humiliated a great Empire, considerably improved her armaments, received powerful accessories to her strength, and has come close to mines of gunpowder, which our Government will have no ordinary difficulty and anxiety to prevent from bursting. We cannot be easily led into a war; we should not allow ourselves to be. We have done well in making a weighty demonstration at Rawal Pindi and actually sounding the Amir as to his various leanings, tendencies and temperament. We do not doubt that by this time the able, sagacious and vigilant Viceroy has been able to forecast what the Amir is likely to turn out in different sets of circumstances. Is it possible that he may be overwhelmed by the faithless attitude of his own nation, and by any concealed strength of Russia, which may be deeply designing for the subjugation of Cabul and Candahar? It is greatly to be deplored that we are not perfectly sure as to the real strength which Russia could put forth in all directions if a war broke out. In case of a war, whatever the British may be able to achieve in other quarters, India must be saved from harm's way. It must not be made even the scene of war, though the British arms may triumph here eventually. The conflict must be entirely confined to the northern and eastern boundaries of Afghanistan, for it is indispensable for the British to become so far powerful that Russia should be routed at the very threshold of her movements. It would not do for our Gov

ment to proclaim war, and then allow it to drag its murderous course towards Candahar, the Panjaub, and the Sindh. If a blow is to be struck at the Russians, it should be struck at once and conclusively. The fire should be arrested as soon as it is ignited ; it should not be allowed to spread on the frontiers of India ; nor in the heart of Afghanistan. It is deplorable that we do not yet know what forces of the Amir may be available. They will probably not be removed from the country, lest it should rise against the Amir and enter into dangerous confederacies with internal and external foes. We have no doubt Lord Dufferin must have put the Amir in a proper way in reference to ensuring the tranquility of the Afghans, while war is proclaimed. The very fact that Abdur Rahaman has turned out a strong ruler may provoke troubles against him as his country is again made the scene of carnage. If internal anarchy breaks out ; if the Russians threaten him with the revolt of the inimical tribes and chiefs who owe him a grudge ; if he finds that the Russian arm turns out stronger than expected, is it likely that he will continue to side with the British ? though, if he is a man of fidelity and friendship, he might prefer a residence in India or England to a breach of trust with the British.

The advance of Russia on the Afghan frontiers however unjustifiable, and the vigilance displayed by England, are circumstances far from being deplorable.. The present event—if not leading to any great war—must be comparatively gratifying, remembering that in the time of Lord Lytton, on the mere attempt of Russia to establish an embassy at Cabul, our Government were compelled to invade Afghanistan and undertake a ruinous and protracted war. It is desirable, therefore, that Russia is now placed within the practical range of Indian operations ; for, when everything was dark and uncertain about her movements, we could not check her ; but now that she has brought her outposts close to those which we cannot possibly suffer to go in her hands, we know what permanent defences we ought to raise, and how to bar the way of a foe to India with an almost absolute impunity. Henceforth it must be understood that the Indian Government will have practically to become the masters of the Afghan boundaries ranging on the Russian side as far as their inviolability from the Russian aggression is concerned. The British Government did not listen to the humble voice raised by the present writer years ago that Candahar should not have been abandoned, and that taking hold of the opportunity which their own installation of the Amir had offered them, they should have taken

perfectly friendly measures in guiding him in the reorganization of the resources of his kingdom, and so constituting the military organization of our frontier State that no enemy could have taken Afghanistan by surprise as has been unfortunately now done. The consequence of the British retreat has only emboldened Russia to steal a march several hundreds of miles closer to us than before, without our Government being able to repulse the criminal encroachment at once; while Russia, as she advances, has been laughing in her sleeve that once more has she succeeded in setting the British Lion in a roaring agony! Rather that we should have suddenly to advance a large army at an enormous cost, not knowing if Russia has serious intentions, or is simply making a fun of us, the Indian Government should now see that their ally can make his own stand at a moment's notice. What is now required is a beneficial intervention in Afghan affairs to render them prepared for an evil day. We should do a great good to the Afghans, so that, as a nation, they may stand with us, and we may not have to rely any day on a broken reed of a ruler, who may be popular or not with his people. We cannot be satisfied with simply lavishing our wealth in propping up the Afghan kingdom, while it has been taught to look to us in the day of its troubles! We must certainly continue every reasonable assistance to the kingdom, but at the same time we cannot forget the other obligation that we should endeavour to make Afghanistan strong for itself, by organizing its forces and placing them under a mild but firm and conciliating European and Indian supervision. Excepting this we can very well let the Afghans do very much as they like, while they are always led to adopt peaceful methods towards their neighbours under Russian influence. We have been cheerfully placing our resources at the Amir's disposal, and the return should be that he honestly uses a part of his own resources in bringing up the efficiency of his army so far that he could for some time protect his kingdom against all wanton aggressions. In coming times we cannot pull on with a fanatic Amir as with one hopelessly incompetent. Afghanistan should be placed on the same footing as the Nizam's Kingdom, but with a greater immunity granted to the Amir in respect of his internal affairs. India has to take care that it does not wage a war with Russia without the sternest necessity being proved for such a step. As yet India has done no harm to Russia, and we do not intend to do any. Russia may have to settle old differences with England, which may have worsted her

more than once. It is, therefore, the interests of India not to sow the seed of revenge in the breast of any nation. In case of gratuitous aggressions against India, it knows how to meet them; and in that case it must certainly do everything in repelling an invader, and even chastising him. It is highly probable that now since Russia has far advanced towards the Afghan frontiers she will be permitted by our Government to lay hold of more territory than she could legitimately claim. The Amir will be asked to make a little sacrifice to ensure a permanent peace, and experts on our side will, no doubt, point out the strategical points which we cannot, under any circumstances, yield to Russia. If she is altogether incapable of conducting a successful war, we should use all our influence in forcing Russia to give up her recent possessions, which undoubtedly form a part of the Amir's kingdom. The present negotiations will tend to clear the character and extent of rapacity which Russia is apt to employ. It is futile to believe that Russia merely intends to make a diversion on the Indian frontiers to seize Constantinople. She will be in a position to attempt the latter task as also to plunder India, provided she found England weak at any moment, and by any cause. We must, therefore, strongly and respectfully urge Lord Dufferin again to prepare without delay a complete and comprehensive measure for the permanent defences of India and Afghanistan. The armies of both the general and the local Governments of the Native Chiefs should be so constituted and distributed that, while the principle of Imperial Unity is observed in every interior portion of India, we should be able to annihilate at any moment any rapacious foe raising his head on the Afghan borders to menace innocent countries. No half measures will answer the serious purpose we have pointed out. All patriotic associations and individuals in British and Native India should unite in getting the various European and Native schemes of self-defence carried out without fail, now that all parties are agreed that, if we should continue the old indifference, Russia would not mind injuring India in a manner that would cripple it for one century. We see no cogent reason why the strongest measure should not be adopted to place India on a footing of an Independent Self-defence mainly controlled by the Sovereign Power. It gives us satisfaction to believe that our present Viceroy seem destined to carry out that full and pregnant unity in India, in which both the princes and the people will rejoice and take a pride, and which can always impose a check on the criminality of foreign designs.—*12th April*, 1885.

We have had to write this two days previous to our publication and cannot say what the next day may startle us in reference to the war apprehended on the Afghan borders, and in

The Situation.

ırope and Asia in general. Statesmen of the most uncommon ability ıd the most profound experience and shrewdness may fail in forecasting hat turn the present strained affairs may take in the immediate future. 'here are a few controller of events who know what might take place, ut even *they* must feel a certain amount of diffidence in framing a perfect ›recast. With such deterring difficulty before us, we must satisfy the nxiousness of our readers to know whether peace or war would result ·om the present conflict.

The anxiety to know what is in prospect is nothing compared to the ublic dread which a war between England and Russia must excite in ndia. With a thousand pities on those who have spoken disparagingly of ussophobists, though we have not been one of them as popularly undertood, we must now be prepared to know that a war between Russia and ndia may eventually become inevitable. Let us all, however, offer our incere prayers to the Almighty that the black cloud now threatening us nay quietly pass off.

So many various forces and complications do control the present course ›f affairs. Our Government not having checked the Russians at Merv, ›ot having accustomed the Afghans to British presence and British friendliness in organizing their resources, not having strengthened the Afghan frontiers from Cabul to Herat, the Muscovite thinks he must be a fool not to aspire after the possession of Herat. He will not all at once say, "I want Herat." The garrisons of the Amir there are very weak. The British forces will take some time to appear, if they at all appeared there. He can say with some plausibility that the Merv Turcomans are entirely ours, and their region extended very near up to the Paropamisus Range. Well, that range may be the natural boundary of Afghanistan. With this ulterior view the Russian Generals of ferocious patriotism have ousted the Afghans from Penjdeh. As they have not met with any reprisals they are bound to proceed further. A mass of Afghans may thereby be exasperated; another murderous conflict may ensue; and the Russians, according to circumstances, may plant themselves at Maruchak, or leap into badly defended Herat. Should the affairs be transformed into a regular war, the Russians may probably be prepared to bring on about a hundred thousand

men to take up some impregnable position for conduc
Cabul and Candahar. Our hope is, to avoid a world-wide calamity, England may adopt more or less the frontier suggested by Russia by binding her against using any aggression against Afghanistan in the future, and to refer any dispute or grievance on the part of the Russians to the British Government.

We anticipate with extreme pain that the great motive power which may move Russia upon Herat, if the Grand Old Man fails in smothering the dreadful Bear in the *Khud* of peace, will not be the immediate conquest and ruin of Afghanistan, but to spring a disastrous surprise on this innocent country which has done no harm to Russia. If there was the remotest chance of this dire event occurring, we cannot but throw thousands of pities on our national and princely leaders of India that they do not awake from their slumber and ask the British Government to exert every nerve to add at least two hundred thousand men to our existing forces. We heartily wish we may be wrong in apprehending the unspeakable danger as we do. But is this the moment to continue crying before the Government that no more elective freedom is granted to the country, or that the Council does not contain sufficient native patriots?

Let every mind be now exercised with the most painful anticipation that brutal Russia, on breaking the fetters of peace, may take a straight way towards Hindustan. If it did not fear losses in its own Kingdom and in Asia Minor, it must be fired with the ardor of putting India to plunder and rapine. Its demands will be unreasonable; its advances outrageous and provoking; it may impudently set the whole frontier of India in perfect terror; eventually cause the British troops to move forward, notwithstanding the pains of the Amir not to let them intrude into Afghanistan; and wage a sanguinary war with England beyond Candahar. It may demoralize the Amir and the whole of Afghanistan; present before him a most tempting picture of the extension of his sovereignty, and basely desire to put India to fire and sword.

We implore Government not to be too confident in respect of the interior resources of India. Are Government merely to rely on the loyal professions of so many helpless children of the soil? Do the Government for one moment suppose that the fanatical elements in India will remain quiet, while the most clumsy, at the same time a very powerful, country fiercely endeavoured to plunge India into the flames of war? We have

raised a warning voice years ago—we have repeated it all along the last two years. We have written for years together about the gross inadequacy of the defences of the Empire. Where are the three hundred thousand men of our Native States, to organize whom we have long beseeched the Government, both publicly and privately, both in and out of season? Where are they, we ask? Supposing the Russians gradually amassed three or four lakhs of all sorts of forces to make way towards Hindustan, where are the mixed British and Native Troops to garrison the interior of India, while the main army of our Government would be divided in Afghanistan itself to repel the foreign foe on the one hand, and repress domestic anarchy on the other?

Every one, however, asks the question, will there be a war after all? There is a possibility of it, as Russia understands that she is much stronger at home than she was in past years, and that she has now extended her conquests close to the outlying boundaries of India. She believes, we think, to be in a position to harm England much more in India than England could damage her in Europe. In this case unless Germany honestly and firmly offer mediation, Russia may provoke a great war. Though the Cabul Amir may be trusted to conduct his own campaign, that may only be to a certain extent. For, in case of failure on his part, from whatever cause, England cannot but give battle if the Russians neared Candahar, or even a remoter point than Candahar. Our Government may do well by concentrating its resources rather nearer our base of operations than far away from it as Herat. Previous to this intervention, the Amir, it is hoped, may be actively guided by distinguished European military commanders and assisted with sufficient instruments of war. In case of any untoward default on the part of Afghanistan the difficulties of our Government may be greatly increased. Certain powers, including Germany, may possibly wait till the belligerents may be so far exhausted that an opportunity may present to them to intervene, in different directions, by the prospects of certain territorial extensions nearing them. These subsequent moves will be as well regulated as consummate moves on a chess-board, though the world itself might shake with the excesses of a carnage so terrible that it never before witnessed the like of it. Should a war assume serious proportions at the present crisis, each Power may try to re-adjust the balance of power in its favor, and each one struggle to acquire new acquisitions for itself on which it may have set its heart. If

we are right in the general view we take of the internal motives of the various Powers who may be expecting to benefit themselves in consequence of a general war, we are also right, we believe, in supposing that both England and Russia will do their best to avoid a war, the former more so as it is singularly free of any selfish motive in opposing Russia, while the latter is susceptible of being moved by a mad and criminal design on India. If England is not materially backed at the present moment by an European power in chastising Russia, OUR SOVEREIGN is quite right in not drawing her sword till the moment comes to vindicate Her integrity and dignity. A further development of the present events will more clearly mark out the time when Her present energetic preparations may bear their essential fruit. HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY cannot, we think, take a single premature step in consequence of which Russia may be emboldened to precipitate a big war which may yet be prevented. We would permit Russia to fully incriminate herself in Afghanistan, while we shrewdly calculated her real strength at various points, and on various occasions, and mustered every energy and resource in organizing a strength sufficient to crush Russia at the very first stroke of our action. In the interests of the highest humanity we shall pray to the ALMIGHTY, every hour till the crisis is over, that HE may, on this critical occasion, guide the invincible Arm of the Good Queen aright, and discomfit the foe who offers such wanton aggressions against her peace—which is the peace of the World! Amen—*19th April*, 1885.

Are England and Russia ripe for a War?

IT cannot be denied that the Indo-Afghan-Russo affair is at present in a most unsatisfactory condition. No one in England and India has been able to say publicly, and with confidence, whether there is to be a war or not? Meanwhile, it is apparent to everybody that both Russia and England are making preparations for war on a large scale.

The public are, of course, most deeply interested in deciding whether Afghanistan and England should declare war against Russia or not. The highest authority of the land—our own able and energetic Viceroy—has issued a solemn statement some time since that he decidedly dislikes war, but that if it was forced upon England the people of India should understand that it would come upon them in spite of the best efforts of England to be thoroughly unselfish, forbearing and peaceful. The Vice-

regal declarations as well as the consummate and cautious proced the Ministry of England, as guided by the Grand Old Man, must allay the public anxieties.

The reasons which may eventually incite England to declare war ag Russia will be of the weightiest character. As we have said for the few weeks, the more or less territory coveted by Russia on the Afg frontier cannot be determined into a deliberate war on either side. writers, both here and in our mother country, who urge a war up Russia for her alleged duplicity in seizing Penjdeh and massacring Afghan garrison, have not sufficient foresight and sagacity in counselli England on the general question of the utmost gravity. Neither Englan nor India can punish Russia for coming close upon the Afghan frontier and endeavouring to filch out of the Amir as much of his frontier line as she can urge some ground or other to get into her possession. It must be clearly understood—which no writer seem to have yet done—that the territory which Russia now exerts to get for herself belongs to the zone, as to the proprietory of which the concerned Powers have been debating for the last two years—in fact ever since we were alarmed by the Russian advance upon Merv. The tribes above and below that place have acknowledged sovereignty of an unsatisfactory nature and have always made a muddle of the sovereignty rights over them. It must also be further understood what, too, no writer has yet comprehended, that though the Amir may be able to establish his right in any legal civil tribunal on the sovereignty of a part of Russia's recent possessions, this simple right of a sovereign is not in itself sufficient to forbid a foreign power from forcibly possessing itself of the said disputed ground for geographical, ethnological, or other ostensible reasons, provided that the Amir is unable to assert a similar pretension extending up to Sarakhs, and, further, is not backed by force of arms, which seem to us as the only valid argument which can operate in the uncivilized region where more than a mere civil contest has taken place. Up to this movement Russia has followed the only argument that would tell; and for all legitimate purposes of a war, while the Amir has showed his incapacity at Penjdeh, the capture of that place is no excuse for England to espouse his cause so far as by declaring war against Russia. We may form a low estimate of Russia's morality, but adopting this ground as a *casus belli* will be as rational as attacking Russia for her ill-treatment of the Georgians, or for sending out her military to crush her innocent

peasants. That Afghanistan could not at this moment [illegible] claim against Russia in respect of the portions of tribes which have an ethnological affinity with the Amir's own subjects, is the fatal inability which has caused loss to our Ally and must compel him to settle the negotiations with Russia as quickly as possible with a view to prevent any further violability of his frontier. If Russia at this moment chose to ignore all she had declared in reference to the Afghan frontiers from time to time, neither England nor Afghanistan can hold her *practically* responsible for breaking her promises. We repeat that the only valid argument which can tell against encroachments of this sort is the perfect ability of the Amir and of the Power which supports him to offer an effective resistance on the spot. It has, again, not been clearly understood that Russia has not conquered Penjdeh by means of an army corps of warlike proportions. She has conquered it by surprise and stratagems. Her action has not been serious enough to violate in a decided manner the integrity of the Afghan Empire, the action only meaning to decide, as much as possible, in her own favor the delimitation line proposed to be laid down for herself and the Afghans. It cannot, again, be contended that Russia was bound, under the pain of war, to meet the English Commissioners as soon as they appeared on the debated zone. Unscrupulous as she has been, but commanding a greater material strength *on the spot* than either the Afghans or the British, she has been active enough in seizing the frontier points which she wanted for herself. The encroacher is an independent power as much as the British, and could not of course be coerced into any constrained action except by war. And war could not be proclaimed by a first class Power of the highest culture and humanity, except under provocations of a startling and horrible character imperilling the peace of large populations.

What is the true position of affairs then? It is not by any warlike measure that Russia has taken Penjdeh. It has been taken by a violent measure of moral turpitude, but in virtue of a superior material prestige. The act smacks something of a brigandage, and is more disreputable than the act of a set of adventurers who, by pluck and brute force, break up an uncivilized community and subjugate them into a submission to which they were never before subject.

We have here shown how Russia has been able to place her aggressive action on the basis of a position of sovereign impunity which

has simply turned the forward claws of both the British Lion and the Afghan *Cheeta*. The Russians will probably keep themselves encased in this position of impunity while continuing to intimidate as being prepared for war. They will introduce a state of things denoting chronic unrest and mutual resentments. The Amir will allow none of the two Powers to be represented at his Court. He will probably lack effectual instruments on his borders to cope against Russian machinations unless the British Government succeeded in introducing capable foreign officials in his service, who, by dint of firmness and conciliation, might succeed in holding down the Russians. It is not likely that Russia will unreservedly accept the intervention of the British Government in any matters of dispute or disturbance affecting the Russian and the Afghan frontiers. We must be prepared for the times when Afghanistan will be subject to the Russian influence a good deal to the detriment of our own interests. This fear at least would have been absent to-day, had the British Government remained in Afghanistan and established political agencies and security when it was last overrun by them. The Russians are likely to prefer remaining in a state of chronic unrest and indefinite impunity with a view to subjugate Afghanistan and employ it as a base for an expedition against India, whenever they found themselves checkmated in any part of Europe or Asia by the rival power of England.

From the present moment India's responsibility towards itself and the responsibility of the British towards India have been infinitely increased. Our Government must eventually completely subjugate the Afghans; otherwise they are sure to be by the Russians. We earnestly recommend that a few thousands of the conflicting tribes of that country may at once be entertained in the military service of India to familiarize them with our temper and treatment. With Russia so close to them the Afghans cannot be left alone. They are sure to be absorbed by Russia if we still persisted in acting upon the milky humane sentiment of letting them alone. If Russia is allowed an influence over the Afghans they will be turned into a force inimical to India. If this is to be prevented, as it must be, the only course left is to occupy Afghanistan after some time in a firm but extremely conciliatory manner. We are quite sure that if we steer clear of war now, we shall have one with Russia at no distant date. It is, therefore, imperatively necessary that we should fully secure Afghanistan as our own country for military purposes. As the Russian

advance into the Afghan country is possible, not having England close enough to forbid her movement, the British Government must command overawing military strength both on the Indian borders and in Afghanistan itself. For it is not likely that Afghanistan, unaided, will be able any time to repel the Russian aggressions. The safest method for England to follow will be to take the most careful account of the military strength which Russia can hurl against us from time to time, and then to augment our own strength to a higher point of efficiency with a view to crush our foe hopelessly.

The improbability of war in the immediate future will depend upon the understanding that may now be arrived at between Russia and England. If the former gives sufficient guarantee to prevent future encroachments, Russia will not think of concentrating troops on a warlike footing. If England is unable to obtain an effectual guarantee, though the delimitation may be accepted by both Governments, the present unrest will continue, and forces will be advanced on both sides till a war was declared. It is not felt by the public that Russia has already gained her object to some extent by forcing England to incur enormous expenditures. If Russia does not bind herself down to permanent peace, but is determined to enter Afghanistan with the object of touching the sorest point of England, which is India, or of enriching herself and her dependants in a shameful manner, then England is bound to adopt the most unquestioned methods of war which must certainly end in the most complete triumph for the British arms in the East. Unless, then, Russia fully agree to treat Afghanistan as a neutral zone between India and her Central Asian Empire, solemnly binding herself against having anything to do with the Afghans, there will be nothing left to England but to teach her a lesson by which she would be forcibly removed beyond Merv. Afghanistan may be left alone on the condition that it shall have no dealings with the Czar. The moment these are commenced, the British Government must occupy the country to drive back the intriguing Russians.—*3rd May*, 1885.

The Bear on its Black March.

THE Russians stormed their way up to Penjdeh a few weeks ago. We then anticipated that their next move would be towards Meruchak which they are now reported of having actually occupied! Here is the fruit of leaving our frontiers

unprotected! It is well that there was no conflict with the Afghans. And we are of opinion that there ought to be none till such time as they could offer a stout battle—till such time, too, as the wronged and insulted India were able to carefully ascertain the degrees of military strength which Russia can bring against Herat, Badakhshan, Cabul and Cashmere. The Russians will, no doubt, continue to proceed, while England puts her questions to explain her unprovoked encroachments! We earnestly desire that the Afghans may not be provoked into a war till they have been mortally offended and till they are prepared to contest with Russia. That hungry Russia is designing to push on some overwhelming force with the express desire of bringing about anarchy and looting in India, we stated some weeks ago; and for the first time this week a correspondent from Gulran, moving with Sir Peter Lumsden's Commission, has confirmed this fear of ours, in a long warning letter published in the *Times of India*, which every one ought to study for himself. It remains to be seen how far will Afghanistan and England tolerate the black march of the Northern Bear. Russia has even pushed further down the frontier line proposed by herself before the appointment of the Commission. It is very doubtful if the Afghans will be able to occupy Balamurghab, the Kushk and the Burkhut mountains, which issue from the Paropamisus Range, in sufficient force to repel the disgusting stratagems and violence of the Russians. Any weak stand made there will be immediately availed of by the latter in pouncing upon the Badghis and the Jemshids and in fact occupying most of the Herat region. The Russians' ascension from the Kushk will be the signal for England to declare war against Russia, unless she absolutely suspends her encroachments below Balamurghab and Gurlin. We do not doubt that the British Government will take long before declaring war. As soon as the whole line close to the Indian frontiers has been patiently and immensely fortified, the moment may come for the hundred thousand of our brave and forward warriors to advance and crush the barbaric power seeking so dishonestly to assail our united home of freedom and political glory. She would deserve nothing less than hopeless destruction all along the Persian and Afghan frontiers; while Turkey, Austria and Great Britain maimed her in Europe and in the seas protected or invaded by our powerful naval fleet. If Russia is not closing upon her own destruction and ruining her own internal Kingdom, she must soon check her rapacity and insolence towards her forbearing neighbour, the Afghans. The aspect

of affairs will be entirely changed if the latter are any time found lukewarm in the cause of India when threatened of being assailed by Russia. Her cunning with the Afghans as affecting our own security will always have to be carefully counteracted, while Persia is firmly retained in our cause by even giving away Herat to the Persians if this concession should be eventually required for the protection of India and Afghanistan.—*3rd May*, 1885.

Hopes for Peace.

OUR strong presumption explained several weeks ago that England will, in a general manner, allow Russia to have the boundary she claims on the frontiers of Afghanistan and not declare war against her though she attacked Penjdeh, has proved to be correct. Many now ought to feel surprised why should so much bitterness have been displayed between the two nations and millions spent in preparations when England has been ready to concede and Russia willing to make no further move than that involved in the boundary line she suggested before the appointment of Sir Lumsden's Commission. Just at present all threatening appearance of a sanguinary war has vanished in thin air, and even with Herat within her clutches Russia is satisfied with her inhumane massacre at Penjdeh. Can we now affirm positively that Russia was really not in a mood to declare war, or that for a long time she does not intend to kick up an active strife at the gates of Afghanistan? The results as now appear permit us to answer in the affirmative.

As soon as the last shred of this contemptible affair is settled—we call it contemptible as viewed in relation to the vast amount of money spent after it!—an earnest inquiry ought to follow with regard to the circumstances which have created such exasperations and resentments and caused an enormous expenditure. We might then probably know that there have been some grave defects in the diplomatic constitution of even such great nations as the Muscovite and British. We shall probably come across further derangements. And these would relate to the want of all arrangements and precautions on the whole of the border lines of Afghanistan as touching the transitionary region which the Bear has been systematically swallowing. Had a proper look-out been kept up in all those directions, of course including those where at present we hear of no notable dispute or anarchy, we should not have had all the disquieting

tufan and waste of the last few months. As we have complained for years, the want of a thoroughness of action in Afghanistan has been at the root of all the evil. It may be that we may have avoided much greater evils that we may be better able to know hereafter.

We are extremely happy that an independent arbitration has been referred to to decide who have been the parties at fault in respect of the Penjdeh affair. To us it appears undoubted that the deplorable massacre would never have occurred but for the deadly resentment felt by the Russians at Lord Dufferin's brilliant action in joining the Amir at Rawal Pindi and binding him down to an open and close alliance. As Abdur Rahaman declared that he would deal with the enemies of England with the sword which the Viceroy presented him at the Durbar, so General Komaroff put to his own sword hundreds of innocent Afghans on the Khushk, meaning that that was the reply to the insolence of the Amir towards Russia. The resentment was barbarous and overstepped every limit of fairness and moderation. Though, as we said the other day, the massacre was not a sufficient cause for undertaking a wholesale war between the two Empires, we may hope, however, that England will insist on a fair adjudication of the Penjdeh question. India and all civilized countries will be interested to know whether the Russian conduct was unprovoked or otherwise. If it were a gratuitous massacre, it would be well to make it clear for the condemnation of civilized nations.

It would be difficult just now to say if costly preparations for war could have been avoided by any action omitted by England. India has reason to be proud of England that it has shown remarkable unanimity in sanctioning the large supplies asked for by the Ministry to complete the preparations for war without a moment's delay or hesitation. Russia must now be fully deceived in her calculations.

She must have greatly doubted the earnestness of England to go for a war, but she has been terribly deceived in the extensive arrangements which have been steadily going on to bring about the necessary preparedness. She has been further miserably deceived in her anticipations that, by assuming a hostile attitude on the Afghan borders, she would produce anarchy both in Afghanistan and India, though it must be remembered that once she had succeeded in plunging both countries in war.

All the recent events clearly show the unscrupulous conduct on which Russia any time would be bent as regards India for the mere grati-

fication of her old rivalry and animosity with England. We are clearing out of the present dangers by the consummate ability and tact displayed throughout the present crisis by Lord Dufferin in India and Mr. Gladstone in England. But for this marvellous patience and capacity displayed, war would have been proclaimed by this time, and we do not know what would have been the calamities in store for us. But fortunately we see the signs of England compelling peace of the world to be kept sacred, while securing the utmost possible self-respect by a dameanour which might well put Russia to shame! We trust we may now soon hear of the final declaration of peace and the securement of an understanding so satisfactory between the three Powers that no possible loophole may be left for any future threatening of peace. A grave responsibility now rest with the Ruler of Cabul to secure a permanent protection of his kingdom against Russian aggressions. The Indian Government will, no doubt, assist him fully, and at no distant period we must induce our Government to state publicly the measures actually achieved by them in securing Afghanistan against further Russian encroachments. Not only these measures have to be carried out, but the Indian Government will have to effectually devise for an observation being continuously kept up in relation to Afghan affairs as affecting both Russia and India. A wide interest must start up in India in all that concern the strength and motives of Russia with a view that no day may find us unguarded. The time is past when our patriotic cares may not travel beyond the merits of municipal government or forest administration.—*24th May*, 1885.

Treaty Stipulations for the future.

PUBLIC interest in the present political situation will not be abated till final understanding between England and Russia is actually effected. There has been much delay in arriving at this result because it is to be achieved not by the armament of England, but by the intensely peaceful professions of its Prime Minister. There are no hostile demonstrations made by Afghanistan on its threatened frontier, and its most powerful Ally has just ceased even the military demonstrations it made 700 miles away from the impudent Cossacks. The Czar probably does not care two straws when a final agreement between him and Abdur Rahaman is effected, as he knows well it is not his own frontiers which have been put into a sad plight, but those of his Afghan neighbour. The question for St. Petersburg

is that of advance, and how much short of the Paropamissus range its advance should stop. As far as its objective point is concerned, the northern Bear has crept quite up to it, and its next move may probably be the fulfilment of its long-conceived dream.

The problems now before England for solution must be unusually difficult. It may easily concede to Russia a few nearer points towards Herat if she is honestly able to show that, by claiming a larger strip of the Afghan frontier, it is not any preconceived design of occupying Herat that she is acting upon, but the removal of real administrative difficulties only is meant. We dare say, as she has the Gladstone Ministry to deal with, she will find without much difficulty sufficient ethnological grounds to base her larger claims upon. It is difficult to see how England can repel her rival from a region when once she has put her foot into it unchallenged, though it will now be confessed on all hands that the nearer Russia comes to the heart of Afghanistan the greater has she the chance of sowing the seeds of intrigue in that Province.

What we now fear is that the stratagems of Russia may prevent England from getting Abdur Rahaman to raise fortifications in the Herat valley. She may make a show of renouncing some strategical points in favour of the Afghans; she may even stipulate not to place any formidable army on her own frontier. The question then will be, are the Afghans to desist from strengthening their own defences at the very gates of their kingdom? While Russia *will be making her roads and railways joining* her base proper with her outposts by telegraph, can England act rightly in agreeing that the Amir of Cabul should do nothing to strengthen his vulnerable points on the front? The tribal animosities may any day force the daring Russian Generals to enter the Afghan territory, and any section of the Afghan subjects—either concerned or unconcerned in the quarrel—resenting *the Russian aggression, may* lead both countries to a serious fight. In that circumstance the defenceless state of Herat, or of any other boundary, may prove disastrous to the interests of Afghanistan. The Russian provocation may be such that England may not with any fairness prevent the Amir from retaliating, or she might feel justified in declaring war against Russia if the Amir in the least hesitated to defend the *integrity of his country.* Concede, therefore, as much of the frontier claimed by Russia as you can, but any suggestion for abstention from strengthening the outlying defences of Cabul and Herat all along the forward Afgha

line cannot be listened to for a moment. The Muscovites might as well ask the Amir to disband his forces and go and rule at Peshawur!

We know that the treaty concluded between Abdur Rahaman and Earl Dufferin is yet a profound secret. We hardly believe that any of its provisions does not provide for a highly unfavourable contingency of this sort. If it has not treated the Amir's country as an active repeller of India's enemy, then the treaty will be of no value whatever to India. We do not think we err in our belief that the treaty has fully provided for the British occupation of Afghanistan as soon as it became evident that the Amir required military aid from the Indian Government, or that he failed in effectually dealing with Russia when she presumed to attack his kingdom. The treaty must have further bound the Amir to augment and improve his forces, to render rapid communications for them easy, and to give effect to a satisfactory system of frontier defences. In the event of any serious contingency of the last degree, the treaty must have fully provided for the military administration of Afghanistan by the British themselves. We could easily liberate Afghanistan from all such obligations if we felt sure that it was a country of very little use in the hands of an enemy. If we did not thus care for Afghanistan, its warlike tribes in the hands of Russia would be a formidable tool in her hands for the pillage of India by the Russians. By driving Afghanistan under the iron heels of Russia our anxieties will certainly be multiplied. At any rate the frontiers of India should not be single, but duplicate. India's enemy having his base close to Herat should be well weakened in Afghanistan before he could attack the frontiers proper of India. If we neglected to have our frontiers far-stretching as we have pointed out, we provide a powerful base to our enemy, which now he has not. We must have an ally in advance of us who will be able to chop off one or two feet of the Bear before it could crawl up to Beluchistan or Peshawur, where we may be able at once to give it the final crush. If we could not trust Afghanistan, it is useless then to spend our resources on that country. But all we know of that country just at present is that if we did not interfere, the Amir will not be able to hold it loyal to our purposes. Our object is then to make it strong by means of every possible exterior assistance. As far as this aim is concerned, our efforts must be sleepless. It is not so much a sudden Russian raid as her silent culpable intrigues which have to be feared. Creating a disturbance by such intrigues, she would

attempt further conquests in Afghanistan with a view to disaffect the Amir towards India. We shall have our own difficulties with Afghanistan to be removed from time to time. The Amir will be required to establish a steady, progressing, decent Government if he expected to cope with Russia. His aim should henceforth be to base his Government on the lines of a tolerable civil administration and a very strong military organization. He can no longer dispense with the close diplomatic and other active assistance of the British, though our agents may be as few as possible and the best selected ones for holding an intercourse with him at Cabul. Though his rule may be stern it may also now take to the sympathetic turn to win over the minds of his turbulent subjects, or provide occupation to those who breed mischief in and out of his territories.—31*st May*, 1885.

Lord R. Churchill on the present position.

Lord Randolph Churchill has in the present month delivered two very interesting and effective speeches about India, entirely with a view to impress upon the British Parliament the serious necessity felt for saving India from the increasing perfidy of Russia and to show the enormous value of India to England to that part of its leading community which presume that England will lose nothing by severing her connection with India. We need not expect from Lord Randolph any gushing Liberalism to please young India somewhat beyond bounds, but the speeches he has made since his return from India show that though made of a sterner stuff, he is quite alive to all the substantial problems relating to the safety of India and its development on the lines of western civilization. He would not care to make any amount of sentimental concessions to the rising leaders of India and then nurture the emasculated idea of abandoning India a prey to anarchy. He is deeply impressed with the divine mission entrusted to England to work out the final emancipation of India, and produces facts and figures showing how India provide maintenance for millions of families in Great Britain and Ireland. Besides these millions depending on India, an enormous amount of capital belonging to England has been permanently invested in India. Lord Randolph has reasons to doubt the capacity now shown by England in dealing with the Russians who have approached the frontiers of India with dishonest and dangerous designs. In His Lordship's opinion Her Majesty's Ministers are not dealing with

in her present negotiations with Russia. We should like to know that action if it could be taken without embarassment and without danger. The British Commission have undoubtedly not met with full success, but their presence and vigilance at and beyond Herat have effected an immense good to India and England. We hope the Commission will be retained there as long as every difficulty has been removed. But for them the Russians would easily have found pretext to chase the Afghans down to Herat and to occupy it in the end. The most desirable thing that may result from the present negotiations will be this, and which is probably meant by Lord Randolph: Russia, while being given the frontier she claims, with one or two exceptions, should bind herself to refer to the arbitration of England any dispute which may arise between the Russian and *the Afghan countries, and she should* on no account attempt interference or violence in the territories of the Amir. At the same time she should abstain from offering any obstacles to the Amir in his work of strengthening his frontier. The Russians in these circumstances may either require that the Afghans should not make such a defiant show, or that if this be allowed Russia must also strengthen her own side. Unless the Amir is capable of treachery he will strengthen his military defences sufficiently to cope with those of Russia. We hardly think Lord Randolph believes that England can prevent Russia from [illegible] the vicinity of Zulficar and Penjdeh [illegible] If a quarter [illegible] possible if Candahar [illegible] British forces [illegible] at Penjdeh. [illegible] and then [illegible] to be [illegible] on any [illegible] be any [illegible] after peace is [illegible] matters any [illegible] that the Afghan and [illegible] without delay and [illegible] position to [illegible] of such [illegible] present negotiations [illegible]

country, which Russia has covertly dared to menace. Our princes are not the Khanates of Central Asia. Our countrymen are not the nomad, looting, murderous tribes of Merv and Turcomania. We are not the men-stealers, the cut-throats, and the banditti of the desert-steppes beyond the Caspian. We are the sons of valiant conquerors of world-wide empires of old. We are the inheritors of inextinguishable influences of humanity, of high virtues, of God-like piety, of the first and prime sources of that pure and refined language, literature, crafts, sciences and philosophies, which have transformed the face of the earth. Listen, ye crafty Bear of repulsive North! we are heroes in the Realms of peace, of progress, of contentment, of matchless self-sacrifices, and of united loyalty towards our Political Master, to whose hardness we cheerfully yield, but whose innate, ever-glorious, almost ethereal, design of *restoring us our dear unity and our dearer freedom and humanity* we can never efface from our breasts—not even at the point of the bayonet, under the roarings of the canon, or the devastations of our broad fruitful fields, and dear contented homes. We are the creatures of patient industry, tolerant in worldly evils and deficiencies, grateful in scantiness and thriftiness of blessings. Mind, ye rough and bloody Cossacks and their insensately ambitious Czar!—we have solved the curses of overpopulation, of national and sectional rivalries, of the various pinching wants of humanities, of the feuds of factions and kingdoms, of social disorders and complications, and of a thorough amalgamation with the forces of the most powerful modern civilization. We have never desolated foreign kingdoms; we have never attacked the homes and hearths and religions of any foreign nations. In effecting the combination of our country we have fallen and have reaped the fruits of weakness and anarchy. Hear, further, ye greedy Russians!—we have secured our present peace and our present status—as proud as it is harmless—after endless sacrifices; and the merciless pursuers and castigators, and the evil eyers of other nations' wealth and prosperity shall not be the impudent or the sly threateners of this country that has done them no harm! Receive this warning, ye Russians, on the hand of a pure and a truthful son descended from a dynasty, the like of which ye can never claim: don't venture to trifle with those who have [illegible] into the streams of human culture and courage and [illegible] and mysteries—who are much better learnt in the [illegible] of divine

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One may now be inclined to ask, Why have the public men in India failed to request the Government to look after securing the full military strength of the Empire? I would at once reply that we have given no proof that have understood our gravest want, our sole ambition being to call out for reductions in the military as also other public expenditures of the country. Its growing expenditures have no doubt caused us anxiety, but the failure in grappling with the difficulty is shown in the absence of the method to be adopted in obtaining the reduction of those expenditures which legitimately call for a reduction. The failure, again, is evidenced in perceiving what expenditures, and in what directions, they need to be enhanced in an urgent manner, and what are the sources of revenue which ought to be tapped for obtaining the further funds essentially required. The policy with which we have waged our battles with the Government has been as unsound as it has proved eminently misleading. All our halcyon of security and prosperity for the

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country is embodied in reductions of military expenses and of the public taxes levied which we have advocated on every conceivable occasion. What is now to be discovered and decided upon are the approximate limits of the yield of each province and each state of India and of its expenditures to fit in with the maximum requirements of the times. There is no help but to make searching inquiries into the resources of every state and province in India so far as public policy may warrant such a course. Unless this great public method is enforced, we shall not be able to know the root of our drawbacks, as far as is desirable to know it; and unless we are acquainted with this root we shall never be able to marshal up our resources with a determination that shall strike awe in the hearts of our aggressive foes. I would ask my fellow-patriots whether they would prefer the least chance of being subject to a bloody revolution in consequence of an universal sanguinary war, or pinch themselves a little more than now with financial burdens which may at least serve to prevent violent disorders in India and a re-awakening of the terrible feuds and jealousies of old, which must upset every kingdom and drain it entirely of the resources left after the telling changes already passed through.

The public sense in India as to the fighting strength and the money reserves it should command would be ludicrous, if it were not tending towards disasters which would take one century to mend, once they were allowed to take place. Our patriots do not dream of creating a united materially powerful India on the basis I have pointed out, because they have somehow or other held to the belief that the military strength of India can even be curtailed; that the public taxation must be absolutely reduced, and not enhanced; and that the integrity of the Native States should not be touched, as if an advocacy like mine would for a moment mean that any state should be burdened with an extra farthing if it already has any force commensurate with its capacity.

When I consider the position of the Government I deplore that it is only a little more hopeful than what the present condition of the leaders has brought about. The Government of India cannot initiate any large measure unless with the hearty co-operation of the India Office and the British Parliament. The party differences of the Government of England operate too strongly against any vigorous and far-seeing Viceroy daring to adopt a broad and independent measure of the kind

India so badly needs to-day. We cannot expect very serious attention being paid to the question I have here touched under the temporising foreign policy of England's party administrations.

We may centre our hopes in the present Viceroy so exceptionally able in all that concern the permanent safety and prosperity of the country in his charge. I therefore think that both British and Native India should go to him united, respectfully pointing out the grave obligation resting on him and his gracious Sovereign in respect of the broad, popular and powerful measures required to permanently secure the ends of self-defence of the country, which is fortunately now under his distinguished rule. It is high time for every prince and every leader in India to know that we cannot any more rest content with the primitive military organization of India, in which its soul and conscience are entirely absent. We must feel ever grateful to our Government for hitherto employing the best protective measures that were possible in the absence of due co-operation from the important members of the Indian nationalities. But the times have now changed, and are still fast changing. An immense military power has approached close to the Indian frontiers, while there is not a power of any importance in Europe, the interest of whom has not been awakened in the Empires of the East, and whose disposition is not influenced by considerations about our own Empire. In any *future* collisions, therefore, these modern interests of Europe, *Turkey*, *Persia*, Afghanistan, China, &c., India must be prepared to find herself seriously taken into account by one or more of the contending factions belonging to the principal and subordinate empires of the world.

It is *hence* my emphatic opinion that the ordinary and princely leaders should unite in pressing the Government to solve our naval and military difficulties in a comprehensive and national sense so that every member and every community of the Indian Empire may patriotically contribute to our fighting strength, and each of the many national divisions of our Empire may take *pride* and glory in becoming its actual bulwark of strength and contributing to the stability of the Queen's benign predominance in the East. I ask all my countrymen to move and break the ice themselves with our rulers. It is excusable in a certain sense for the British Government not to take the initiative themselves. Our spontaneous action will remove their reserve and mistrust. We must be ready to devise such plans in surrendering the additional forces and resources for the security of

the empire as they could entertain with cheerfulness and confidence. I am sure that once easy conferences take place between the Viceroy, the various princes and the presidential leaders of the Indian nations, an admirable workable basis will be arrived at for the adoption of detailed measures in each State and province affected. The reforms I have indicated are to be laid on a broad foundation, and have been due in India since many years. That they have not been undertaken and realized has sadly interfered with the progress of beneficial unity between the rulers and the ruled in India. The greater and the more cordial this progress between them, the closer will be the hold of England upon India, which is the highest consummation to be desired for our country. I therefore earnestly implore my countrymen no more to neglect the most vital question in which their dearest interests and aspirations are immediately involved.—*5th July*, 1885.

The Afghan Difficulty.

THERE is some great unrest yet in the air with regard to the strained relations between India and Afghanistan on the one side, and Russia on the other. We receive news of the latter increasing her forces on the Zulfikar side and sending down a larger bulk of her army for the occupation of the new territories she has forcibly occupied. We further hear that the British Mission, under Colonel Ridgeway, are moving towards Herat, and that the Amir, instead of being assassinated, as falsely reported by the Russians, is moving down towards Herat with a large force. There is again some well-founded talk about a British cantonment being erected at Candahar. A direct question was put to Lord Randolph Churchill on the subject in the House of Commons, and he said that "it was to be remembered that Afghanistan was an independent State." The Noble Lord did not make his meaning sufficiently clear, and yet it was stated when he was given the India Office Seals, that he was too inexperienced and rash for such a high office! His meaning was either that as the Amir was an independent prince, he might or might not agree to a British cantonment being established at Candahar, or that the result of the negotiations which may be pending on this point was uncertain. A later telegram, however, states that "under the pledges which England had made to the Amir, it might be necessary for us to aid him in the defence of Kandahar." It will be remembered that we were the first

writer in India who exhaustively demonstrated in a pamphlet, extending over 50 pages, that the proposal to evacuate Candahar when urged was very undesirable and ought not to be carried out, and that retaining the British hold on it in a most amicable manner, the military and financial organization should have been intoduced by us under certain methods which would have proved popular in the province. Ideas of this sort have been steadily taking hold of the public mind, the most significant sign of which is the railway extension from Quetta as now undertaken. We quote below with satisfaction the following passage from our contemporary of the *Times of India* as bearing on this question, especially as it has some semi-authoritative view about it :—

"Say what we like about the danger of advancing from our present outposts, the strategical value of Kandahar for the purpose of checking invasion can scarcely be overrated, and, indeed with Kandahar in our hands, the fate of Herat, now certain to become Russian, would be comparatively unimportant. Kandahar can be readily connected by the extension of the Quetta Railway (the "Kandahar Railway," as it was originally called), with the main railway system of India and with the seaport of Kurrachee. The tribes between it and the Indus are far from being as warlike as in other parts of the country. The districts round are open and well adapted for military operations, while the resources of the valley of the Arghandab alone are sufficient to maintain a large force. Here our troops would not only be massed to meet an invading army coming from Herat, but no Russian General would care to choose any other route so long as he was open to a flank attack from Kandahar. The advantages of establishing a cantonment at Kandahar is very great, both from the ease with which it could be accomplished and the facility with which communications could be kept up, and once at Kandahar, it would not be necessary to attempt the difficult and almost impossible march to Herat. We should then have what we lack now, a definite policy, and our troops would only advance beyond Kandahar for the purpose of encountering the enemy upon ground that had been previously selected. Here we have in so many words given what is, we have good reason to believe, the deliberate opinion of the military advisers to the Government of India, and that being so, it is not surprizing that it should form the first important feature of the new Conservative programme. There is even a precedent cut and dried for the establishment of a British Cantonment in the remote centre of a foreign territory with every advantage to the surrounding people, and with no loss either of dignity or revenue to their ruler."

That precedent was creating Quetta as a British outpost taken over by our Government from the Khan of Khelat, to whom the payment of the revenue realized by that station has been guaranteed by British India.

As the troops on both sides are moving, while the frontier difficulties are yet unsettled, some anxiety is naturally created in regard to the security of Herat. It is highly improbable that the Amir will permit Herat to fall into the hands of Russia without an appeal to arms. When once the

arms of both Powers clash, Russia is not likely to concentrate her force on any one point, such as Herat, but will take that opportunity of committing inroads on every accessible point from Herat to Cabul. We shall have a great difficulty then to settle. Can India permit any large portion of the Afghan frontiers to be ruthlessly violated by Russia? Can British Government refuse aid to the Amir when he calls for it, though Russia may be far away from Candahar? The public do not know how far beyond Candahar will British forces proceed to chastise the Russians. Nor can we say with certainty if the British Government will permit Afghanistan to be deliberately thumbed by Russia, supposing she is able to subjugate certain portions of the Afghan frontiers, and quarter herself permanently on the Amir's country. Of course the occupation of Candahar on the British side will be a good answer to Russia. All this, however, would mean that after all the integrity of Afghanistan has been violated. It is deplorable that the British did not quietly undertake the management of Candahar when they last time went up to Cabul. Had that measure been achieved four years ago, Russia would not have ventured to violate Penjdeh, and the frontier there would have commanded much stronger force to be backed up by the British from Candahar. The integrity of Afghanistan, which has now a greater chance of being violated, would have thus been preserved intact, and invaluable time gained in the interests of the Afghan Kingdom. The result of the earlier precautions would have prevented the ugly expediency of forcing two swords into one scabbard, as matters are now situate and are likely to develop further in this direction. Poor Afghanistan has now the prospect of coming into the position of a nut between two crackers. It will probably have to conciliate both the Powers, any serious difference between whom may convert that province into a scene of anarchy and bloodshed, just as Turkey is also expected to become if some of the Powers happened to fall out between themselves. We already see good signs of the new Ministry being able to deal with the frontier difficulty satisfactorily. Lord Churchill, our new Secretary of State, has already shown great calmness of spirit which must be entirely in accord with that of this Council and the able Viceroy in India. We must, however, beg that not a moment should be lost in utilizing the armies of Native States and improving the efficiency and strength of the British armies, both European and Native.—*19th July, 1885.*

Russo-Afghan affairs and the new Ministerial Policy.

WHAT is the condition of things between Russia and England, though the warlike demonstrations in their grosser form have ceased, and the British Ministry has also been changed? We answer that the position has not much improved since orders were given for the movement of our troops. The nations are still negotiating. The misfortune is that the Afghans being a much weaker power than the Russians, the latter have the audacity to keep a bitter dispute open with regard to the suzerainty of a tract of country which the northern invader is intriguing to have for himself. To contend for possessing the pass of Zulficar on the one side, and Meruchak on the other, is simply the demand of brute force. The claim cannot even be listened to. And yet Russia has the audacity to muster increasing forces near these places. She has descended into the Afghan plains at her pleasure. She can have no right to choose comfortable points there, when the Afghan power is ready to protect its own territory. If Afghanistan is a prey to anarchy—if she is menacing the peace of any neighboring Russian tract or tribe—if British India has failed in checking Afghanistan from committing wrong against the Russian nation, supposing Afghanistan was capable of it, then the *khutputy* and persistent action of the Russian Government in seizing upon the Afghan outposts, one after another, would be intelligible enough. As matters stand, the Amir commands our sympathies only the more, since the British Government have failed in protecting him at Herat with the necessary force in just the same manner as the Russians have done in protecting the country they have occupied with the usual desperation of a powerful conqueror.

As matters stand the Afghan position, first at Meruchak, and then at the Zulficar, is, we fear, very anxious just now. The Czar with his well-known fuss has sent out instructions to his Generals and troops to avoid every conflict with scrupulous care. One of his trustworthy Adjutants lately stated that the fear entertained in India and England, that Russia intends attacking Herat, and then India, is altogether a mad fear; and he deplores that such misunderstanding should be created. Intentions and assertions as these coming from Russia should, as a rule, be dishonored in earnest and quietly, instead of relying upon them. We should be much mistaken if we thought we had absolutely no reason to apprehend an unseemly conflict between Russia and Afghanistan in the neighborhood of Herat. It is absurd to suppose that were England unprepared for a

war with her in Europe; she would not adopt every means in her power to seize Herat. It is highly desirable that our new Secretary of State—than whom no statesman can better yearn after the peace and contentment of the dumb millions of India—should find some means of satisfying us with authentic information as to the capacity of England to crush Russia should she venture to harass us more on our frontiers. We should not be surprised if Lord Randolph, as soon as he took charge of his high office, took secret and sure steps to obtain full information with regard to the forces which Russia could bring before the Afghan frontiers, in Central Asia generally, and in Europe at all points that she would wait to be attacked by England as soon as she dared to violate the Afghan integrity contrary to her solemn promises.

It is clear that Russia no longer thinks it a lucrative business to let the Afghans alone by settling upon any of the practical boundary lines indicated to her. The present chronic dispute there she has established as her profession. The British Commission now working cannot be removed, even if the demarcation be peacefully settled. We hardly err, we think, in predicting that it may be transformed into permanent institution at no distant date. Unless a strong diplomatic force is located at Herat, the agents of the Russians would always be on the look-out to raise a conflict and occupy Herat. Russia herself would be interested in watching for the most favorable conjuncture to act upon her most cherished object of seizing Herat. She cannot have a less object even now. We have to guard against numerous artifices of Russia as also against any causes, physical or political, which might prove adverse to us, and favorable to the Russians. We repeat again that the British Commission at Herat is now a God-send in the interests of not only Afghanistan and India, but Persia and Central India generally. We only fervently hope that the Commission may be gradually so strengthened that it may serve to extend our wholesome influence and prestige in those regions.

The conduct of the new Government in respect of the present negotiations—which, as the Prime Minister in his impressive declaration of the policy of the Ministry stated, are of the gravest importance—is unexceptional and all that could be desired. Lord Salisbury truly said that he and his colleagues were bound to respect the pledges given under the former regime. No doubt they, therefore, have to contend with special difficulties in assuming full freedom of action. It is a great relief,

however, that all parties in the Parliament are practically united as to action remaining to be taken in arriving at "a satisfactory conclusi with Russia. We have in this connection the high authority of t Secretary of State to bear us out, and whom we have great pleasure quoting below on the subject :—

"With regard to the frontier of Afghanistan I understood the right hon. gentleman to throw some doubts on the absolute and literal accuracy of the statement made by the Marquis of Salisbury in the House of Lords last night, that the British Government had promised the Amir security for the possession of the Pass of Zulficar. Having seen the despatches of all the transactions that took place and the subsequent telegrams from the Viceroy of India, I am of opinion that the statement of Lord Salisbury was literally true, that the Amir of Afghanistan placed himself entirely in our hands—(Mr. Gladstone: "Hear, hear")—that he offered to accept any frontier which we might think advisable for his interest and security, provided that we secured to him three places, one of which was the complete possession of the Pass of Zulficar. I would also say that Lord Dufferin considers himself absolutely bound to the Amir on that point, and that he had acted with the entire support, knowledge, and approval of the late Government in that respect. But I wish particularly to acknowledge with much gratitude the remark of the right hon. gentleman confirming Lord Salisbury's statement, that the Russian Government are under a promise to concede the Pass of Zulficar to the Amir of Afghanistan. Such a declaration from the right hon. gentleman cannot fail to have the most marked effect on the negotiations which are going on—negotiations with respect to which I know no reason at all why they should not terminate in a manner satisfactory to the country but which, at any rate on this point, will have the advantage of being supported by a practically united House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) Of course the House will understand that none of the members of the Government think it necessary to withdraw in any way from the criticism which we felt in our duty to make on the negotiations as conducted by the late Government up to the time they left office. We perfectly comprehend the nature and the drawback of the inheritance that we have received from that part of the world. We shall try to the very utmost of our power to bring it to a satisfactory conclusion. Undoubtedly in this work the support of the right hon. gentleman, which he has indicated he will be prepared under certain circumstances to extend to us, is literally invaluable, and I am sure that the earnest words which fell from him to-night with regard to the immense value of the security of our Indian frontier will tend very considerably to tranquilise the apprehensions and to rejoice the minds of most all of our Indian fellow-subjects." (Cheers.)

We have no doubt that the intelligent public in India, as also its erning authorities, will cordially endorse the views of the Secretary of e just quoted. Those who considered that Lord Randolph's assumption ower would be fatal to the negotiations conducted with Russia must be a good deal disappointed, and we take some credit to ourselves before Lord Randolph was placed in office we predicted that the of his policy would be worthy of Great Britain. And th

true when we speak of the Premier himself. Nothing is so safe and satisfactory than when the principal parties are not at loggerheads with reference to imperial policies. Mark how the noble Lord spoke about the concurrence which he had secured from his adversaries by his sheer ability, true-mindedness, and straightforward vigor, displayed in the interests of his country and of our own, which he has lately learned to admire, support, and place it on a path out of harm's way :—

"I think that the House will be of opinion that, after the valuable and exhaustive remarks of the right hon. gentleman opposite, it would not be at all consistent with the high position which he occupies if those observations were not immediately acknowledged and commented upon respectfully by some member of the present administration. I am sure I am only speaking the sentiments of those who sit near me when I venture to thank the right hon. gentleman for the considerate, and I may say the magnanimous, treatment which he has given to the proposals of my right hon. friend. (Cheers.) As far as the right hon. gentleman is concerned, none of us ever expected anything else. Owing to certain events which immediately followed the fall of the late Government, Lord Salisbury, with the full assent and approval of all his colleagues, thought it necessary to ask for some kind of guarantee, but in the attitude which the right hon. gentleman assumed in the negotiations I do not think any of us were inclined to assert that that attitude was not perfectly constitutional, and one which might serve as a valuable precedent in the future." (Cheers.)

The conclusion of Lord Randolph's speech was telling and comprehensive; it shows at once the magnitude of the task undertaken by the Ministry even in the midst of its insecurity :—

"In conclusion, I will say that I believe the policy of the Government to be, as regards domestic legislation, to clear up and get out of the way of the new Parliament certain arrear of legislation upon which no great controversy exists, and the settlement of which may confer great social and political benefits on the people. Their policy in foreign affairs, as far as they may, as far as they can, will be to labour with this one great object, and that only, that they may by a firm, rigorous, and consistent policy extricate our country from the numerous foreign difficulties, anxieties, and complications now before us, and so bring about a state of foreign order and freedom from foreign alarm that the new Parliament may be able to concentrate its attention on the political and social future of our people unembarrassed and unimpeded by any foreign danger." (Ministerial cheers.)

Lord Salisbury and his colleagues have so well conciliated their opponents by their cautious, moderate and yet strong policy, that we hardly doubt of its ultimate success. Many things tell in their favour, in that it is not the ends of personal power which they seek—and this has been unreservedly admitted by so great a man as Mr. Gladstone—but the truest and the best interests of the commonwealth which they now single-mindedly labour to achieve. We do not believe at all that either Lord Salisbury or Lord

Randolph cares what their fate would be in the coming elections. That they are merely interested in securing the ends so pithily put by the Secretary of State in concluding his speech, we do not for a moment doubt. A policy at once so calm, masterly, broad-minded and impartial must disarm the bitterest opponents while it raises confidence and high aspirations in men of universal and invaluable wisdom and experience like the present Viceroy of India. It gratifies us most when opposite parties thus sink all petty differences, and contribute to the safety and well-being of the Empire.

The merit of Lord Salisbury's exposition in reference to the serious condition of the negotiations on the Afghan frontiers is very noteworthy. We are tempted to place the greater part of it before our readers :—

"The differences, or the chief difference, affects a certain portion of the frontier probably not very intimately known to your lordships, which is called the Pass of Zulficar. The importance of that pass, be it great or small, is not a matter which comes before us for our consideration, because the dominant condition under which we deal with it is not a consideration of its importance or non-importance to England or Afghanistan, but it is the fact that England has promised to the Amir that this pass shall be included in the limits of Afghanistan, and from that promise so given it is not open to us to recede. It is of vital importance that we should establish in the eyes of all who trust us or depend upon us, not only in Asia but elsewhere, but especially in Asia, that the word of England, once given, will be sustained and adhered to. (Ministerial cheers.) But I am bound to say that this promise given to the Amir of Afghanistan was only consequent upon another promise given by the Court of Russia that Zulficar should be included within the territory of the Amir of Afghanistan. Differences have arisen as to the precise application of the promise, and these differences are now the subject of negotiation. It is perhaps rather early for me to express an opinion as to the issue or as to the mode in which these negotiations will pass along, but, as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, they are conducted by the Court of Russia, as they are undoubtedly conducted on our side, with an earnest desire to arrive at an amicable settlement, and I hope, therefore, that an amicable settlement may be anticipated. At the same time, in hoping that that will be the case, I am bound to say the negotiations have not gone far enough to enable me to speak in any positive manner. The lamentable domestic affliction which we all deplore has prevented the Minister for Foreign Affairs from pursuing the negotiations at this moment, and we must regret it all the more because M. de Giers has in all these differences which have arisen between this country and Russia deserved our sympathies doubly. (Hear, hear.) My lords, I would not at the same time ask you to attach final and conclusive importance to these negotiations whenever they are concluded. Without entering upon the question of the views which various potentates in that part of the world entertain, it is a matter known to all who have studied the subject, however slightly, that the whole condition of affairs in those countries is in a state of unstable equilibrium—(hear, hear)—and it is not in treaties or agreements, however useful, that we must trust for the defence of the precious interests we have in

those countries. Although we shall cultivate the confidence and friendship of the Amir of Afghanistan, it is not to the friendship of the Amir that we must trust for the defence of our own possessions. It is to preparations, skilfully devised and vigorously and rapidly carried out for the defence of our frontier in all points where it is weak, or, in order to prevent the tide, erect bulwarks which shall not only defend the frontier when it is attacked, but which shall stretch out far enough to prevent the tide ever rolling to its foot. (Cheers.) It is preparations of that kind which, I trust, whatever be our political changes in England, and whatever party in the State may hold predominance, will, from this time forth, never for an instant be abandoned or released." (Cheers.)

Our readers will see from the above extracts how completely in our past papers have we anticipated the authoritative decision now arrived at as to the policy which British India has to follow in relation to Russia's approaches in Afghanistan. The operation of public opinion for the last few years has rendered one opinion more rational than any other, that Afghanistan is not to be thrown into our enemy's hands, for we cannot help taking them along with us in repelling his invasion even long before it touches the border-land of India. That the Afghans are a great force, either for the good or the evil of India, is a fact entirely forgotten in upholding the theory, that we should best reserve our resources by having nothing to do with the enemy when he violates Afghanistan! If he is allowed to do this, he will use that country as a tremendous force against India. May we not be so indifferent as to give up to the foe so deliberately a warlike nation which, if not kept under our control and friendship, will permanently remain a thorn on our side. It is mischievous and suicidal in this state of things not sufficiently and in good time to augment our poor and antiquated resources. We must hereupon heartily congratulate Lords Salisbury and Churchill for declaring a policy which is at once manly, reassuring and intelligible. It ought now to be vigorously followed out in a practical manner so that we may let the Bear sit at rest below the Paropamisus Range, with her fore feet chopped off as a chastisement for venturing upon a proclamation of a shameless and highly criminal brigandage, virtually issued against a country which has never done her any harm.—*16th August* 1885.

PART II.

THE ARMIES OF THE NATIVE STATES, OR THE MILITARY REORGANIZATION OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

The Armies of Native States.

ALL well-wishers of India will be gratified to observe that the question of reforming the armies of the Native States has come to the front again—note the *Pioneer's* article extracted in the *Times of India*, June 28. That such conservative journals should admit the necessity of making these armies more useful to the country than they now are is altogether a good sign of the times. The *Pioneer's* suggestion, however, is one in which it would be difficult, we fear, for any Native Prince to acquiesce, for the manner in which it proposes to utilize the armies would hardly be doing justice to the sense of reasonable pride which intelligent native rulers may entertain on the subject; nor could the armies be utilized in the empire to secure the maximum result expected from the working of this large body of men. The passage in which the measure of reform is suggested is well worth quoting below to show the state of feeling prevailing in some influential quarters as to what importance could be attached to the valuable resources possessed by Native States in the shape of their armies, however indifferently composed for the present:—

"The fact is, we have in the armies of Native States a practically inexhaustible mine of wealth from which to furnish the reserves that our own native regiments so sorely need. In our opinion the best and safest manner in which to employ this wealth of fighting men is to incorporate them in the ranks of our own army and let them fight our battles shoulder to shoulder with our own admirably trained and disciplined native soldiers. It may be contended that their armament and training will render them totally unsuitable for such employment, unless previously trained in peace for that purpose; but, as already pointed out, there is a danger in thus perfecting our proposed allies during peace, and certainly no steps whatever should be taken which would have that result; but if used as a reserve to augment the strength of, or fill the gaps in, our own regiments, there is no reason why they should be trained in peace to the use of weapons of precision. Any one who has seen the excellent troops maintained by the Nizam and Scindia or by the Chiefs of Mysore, Cashmere, Puttiala, and others, can scarcely doubt that the pick of

these armies would form a very valuable reserve, and that a few weeks' training under British officers, after the outbreak of war, would fit them to enter the ranks of one of our regiments as drilled soldiers. There are others who would require greater training, and might not be ready for months; still they would be seasoned men accustomed to soldiering of a sort, and not the half-starved youths who were tempted to enlist by high bounties during the Afghan War, and they would, at all events, serve to fill the gaps which active service would soon create. In other words, the best men would be first taken to augment the strength of regiments, and the rest as their training was completed, would go to replace losses." * * *

To adopt any policy like the above in seeking an amalgamation of the one army with the other would very likely be termed niggardly, and is, therefore, not likely to command confidence in Native States. At the very outset such a policy would in itself show that the Paramount Power could not place sufficient confidence in the armies in question. This the British Government are not likely to do. If they think of calling upon the loyal princes to render their armies more efficient and more useable, nothing is likely to be done to lower their position in the estimation of the Empire. The *Pioneer's* plan would be "not to arm, equip and train them in peace up to the recognized standard of efficiency"! To do so would be "a dangerous experiment"! What all that is needed to be done is to neglect the armies altogether in the times of peace and enforce a compulsory enlistment in the time of war, when they should be hastily drilled and used merely to fill gaps in regiments, or augment their individual strength, or furnish their individual losses. No general would trust them with the work of guarding a line of communication or watching an insecure frontier. Nor are they thought fit for fighting purposes under one banner. If any such counsel had the slightest chance of being heeded to by the Government of India, no better way could be found, to stifle the discussion of the question altogether. The question has been found difficult to approach for years together—a lamentable circumstance in the history of this country. But there is a practical treatment of the question which, if adopted, would, we think, secure unanimity of all sides.

Some specific use ought to be made of the armies in question, and that in an honorable and confiding spirit. We have no faith in a radical reform of these armies by placing them under British officers who should straightway discharge all the men whom they found useless and bring up the whole body to the standard of the British army, and then allow it to act as an integral body against a formidable foe. There is no chance

of such a radical change being carried out, nor would it be a safe or wise measure. The principal chiefs whose armies are taken on hand should know that they are their own body, and that their efficient or inefficient condition would be their credit or discredit. In ordinary times the function of preserving peace in any native principality should devolve on its own army, though its reform under British guidance should no longer be delayed under its own control. More expenditure will have to be incurred in pensioning off disabled people, but the posts of principal leaders in native armies should no longer be allowed as sinecures. They should be trained in military work as the plan is already, to a certain extent, adopted by the Baroda Chief. It would be a foolish waste of power not to allow proper armaments to the armies of the Native Chiefs who are known to be loyal to the supreme power and whose firmness, intelligence and integrity can be relied upon as sufficient to ensure the obedience of their armies. Though such armies may be made as effective as those of the paramount Government, their distribution in the time of war will rest with the British. The armies of Native States in the aggregate may always be kept inferior to the total strength of the imperial army. Any large or important part of the country should not be overborne by the feudatories' army alone. In the first stages of experiment the army of the most faithful and active of the allies of the British should be allowed the honor of brigading with the British force in a war. The advanced and the reserved columns for active work should be thus composed; the main portion of this body will be the British army. A war on the frontier may bring about this important arrangement. The mass of the army of the feudatories will have to be employed throughout the country for garrison purposes. At each principal point of collection the whole of the force need not, and should not, be feudatory. To [illegible] any element of mistrust or danger, such local and watching [illegible] may be composed of equal parts of the imperial and the feudatory. [illegible] augmentation of the Indian force [illegible] will be available on the frontier [illegible]. [illegible] to be recommended for its [illegible]. [illegible] scheme can be carried [illegible] Empire. In the case of [illegible] Indian [illegible] in any parts of [illegible] British army would [illegible]

native chiefs may readily seize the opportunity of distinguishing themselves in new quarters of the globe. We have often strongly maintained that the military strength of India is dangerously inadequate, and that the resources of the Native States in this direction are as wofully neglected as they are invaluable and extensive. If only two lacs out of the four with them can be brought up and utilized, India will gain full seventy-five per cent. in its numerical military strength, and that without adding a pie to the permanent military disbursements of the country. When so feasible, let the extent of the quota from each State be confined to its own resources as held in due proportion to the requirements of the imperial country to which the State owes its safety. It would not be difficult in any case to impose a reasonable requirement on every State with special reference to its situation, traditions and capacity. The requirement, again, will be made in a manner which would at once raise the usefulness of a State while stimulating its useful ambition. It is by extending the full measure of confidence and efficiency that the existing army of the Native States can be saved from its present demoralization and show that use to the country at large without which the present danger to its safety cannot be avoided. The reform that should be taken in hand is to be earnest and not a mocking affair, as the *Pi's* plan would surely make it so. Such a plan is not in the least expedient nor politic, but apt to create resentment and discouragement. The drilling and equipment of the native troops under notice ought to commence at once in their own congenial soil, with a little of healthy foreign seed introduced, and under the lordship of their indigenous masters. Don't tell them that their forces, if at all used, will be used under a casual hot-pressure system and as odds and ends of the Imperialists. No, they should be treated as a due part of the integral imperial system. Both the internal and external integrity of the Indian Empire as well as that of the individual parts of the Empire, demand that the present useless and ruinous military system of nearly a third of that Empire should be promptly checked and rendered healthy and self-acting. It is indispensable that this act of amelioration should be taken in hand without delay. A conference of the Viceroy and Governors with the Native Chiefs and the Residents at their Courts would solve many a difficulty which may crop up in carrying out this measure. When matured and put into practice, it will be the best answer to Russia for its wanton attempts to disturb the peace of India. It is the

immediate increase and parade of our military resources that may ensure impregnable frontiers for India and Afghanistan. It is this earnest and formidable attempt that we can fortunately at once make, which will satisfy Afghanistan as to our irresistible strength in protecting it and exacting its willing loyalty to India. The measure suggested by us will ennoble whole Native India, which will thereby feel natural pride and pleasure in contributing to such a large purpose as the defence of the Empire. The proposed scheme would scatter the strength of the feudatories, defend the whole country against foreign aggressions, and produce a sense of self-preservation and self-respect, the want of which has been perceived by the worst natural enemy of Great Britain and India. It would be deplorable to lose a single month without reflecting on the serious responsibility resting with our energetic, far-seeing, and so sincerely well-wishing Viceroy of India.—*6th July* 1884.

Military Reorganization of the Indian Empire.

In 1878 attention was drawn at the Government of India as well as abroad to the subject of the Forces of the Native States, especially in relation to the advances made by Russia towards the Indian frontiers and the marked insufficiency of the Indian Army for operations beyond the frontiers and in connection with the internal and coast defences of our country. A somewhat exhaustive brochure was then published on the subject by the present writer and dedicated to His Excellency Sir Richard Meade who, in a previous discussion, had generally approved of the views and proposals of the author. Some practical result of that discussion is gradually coming to the front, which we hope in course of time may bear good fruit in the interests of Native States and the Indian Empire in general.

We have no leisure just now to review the significant articles now appearing in the *London Times* dwelling on the military strength of the principal Native States. As it seems possible that the question of their armies may be taken up by the new Viceroy, who is expected at Calcutta in December next, the Native Press may well watch the conduct of the coming discussion. The views and proposals put forth in "The Forces of the Natives of India considered in relation to the defence of the Indian Empire," if finally borne out, must undoubtedly add to the value and integrity of Native States who, in return for their usefulness, are very likely to acquire a potential voice in the conduct of the Empire [illegible] g to

(7)—It would be the interest of a Native State to see that the Native Sirdars and offic contributed along with the army are capable of taking an active part in the direction of t force, and that they progress in their experience of military duties as much as their Britis brethren.

(8)—Any decisions with reference to the personale of the higher ranks of the army, or the dismissal of large batches of men belonging to the original strength supplied by a Native State, or the introduction of large number of new men, to be authorized by the Military Council who would consider it their special interest in assisting the British commanders in the reform of the force deputed for individual and general purposes of the States and the country at large.

(9)—The active employment of the army from time to time to rest on the decision of the Paramount Power, and any extraordinary charges resulting from the termination of any active service, in which it may have been engaged, to be borne by the Paramount Power.

*   *   *   *   *   *   *

"These dependents of Native States would come to know for themselves what they are, and how deficiently they fulfil the real function of their lives. The noblest instincts could be instilled into them both to enhance the credit and high services of their State, and to make them of real use to the country at large. The States would gain immensely in the way of securing the permanent proprietary of their territories, and may expect to get valuable rights and privileges hitherto unenjoyed by them and such as could be got by propriety. They could always count upon the services rendered to the Federate Empire, and command weight in the Imperial Councils. Such of the Chiefs as would themselves be able to take command of their troops, in conjunction with British commanders, or be capable enough of directing strategic movements in a war, might have that ambition fulfilled. This, I am sure, would be practicable in course of time when the scheme is well developed. Nothing can be more desirable for the British power than to have a large number of capable and trustworthy Generals at their disposal when a war is waging. A competent Raja of one country may command the army of another Raja, or a portion of the British army. The rising Chiefs may become as proficient in the peaceful arts of administration as in the movements of armies, when the Empire required to be defended. The object of the whole Empire would be one, and the armies of the most opposite characters could be unified, as well as the various Chiefs and their noblemen themselves. When a natural feeling is introduced into them for adopting these innovations, they could surely move freely among the greater bulwarks of the Empire owned by he Paramount Power, and identify themselves with the prevailing national object. Such lendid examples of a thorough-going, high-bred amalgamation will, I am certain, prove ntagious; and one of the greatest barriers existing in the way of the unitement of the rulers d the ruled might be thus removed as if by a charm.

"I boldly advocate the introduction of loyal and capable Chiefs and Sirdars into the Imperial y as far as present circumstances may permit such a course. It would be a novel one y, but it is eminently practicable; and to be carried out actually, steps should, of course, be n with due caution and in exact proportion to the novelty of the act. And why should we tive States not rightly understand such reserve, and court and solicit such introduction? e not placed on the high path of welfare to, desire a progress further and further in that

All of us in Native States more or less understand that we are under the best possi

different armies in India must result in individual and general security. Wherever a large force may be necessary, there it may be composed of the English, the British-native, and the purely native forces, so that all unsafe elements may be properly counterbalanced in any part of the country, or during any active crisis, when, instead of any mutinous passion being stirred up, the highest devotion towards success could be secured in all the parts of the forces alike."

Though it is possible the author may with his further experience improve upon the original scheme elaborated by him in his past work, the above passages quoted at random have been sufficient to give a safe turn to the controversy which has more or less continued since 1878, and which may probably in the next year occupy much more serious attention than before.—*5th October* 1884.

The *Times* on the Army at Baroda.

OUR contention of several years that the question of the armies of the Native States cannot long remain unattended to is not wrong, considering the closing advance of a giant power whose friendship towards India cannot be relied upon, while the military resources of the native rulers of India in general are more a waste than a source of strength to the country. Apparently, under some official inspiration, but hardly with the cognizance of ultimate authority, a series of valuable articles have appeared in the London *Times* on the military strength and attitude as also the moral and material capacity of the various native rulers. Glancing through these articles we find them well enough within the four corners of treaties and obligations entered into when the light of civilization had not pierced the land, when the murderous, anarchical and treacherous political elements were arraigned against the consolidation of the East India Company. With the repressing and amputating powers exercised by them these powers were still moderated by just and benevolent impulses. There were grossest forms of anarchy then to be dealt with. That grossness has now disappeared, giving place to much milder forms of maladministration. The results that have followed the conservation of the sources which so largely represented the brute force have proved welcome in the interests of the Empire. The results dictate that the same policy, modified according to changing conditions and circumstances, should continue in the British dealings with Native States. The immenseness of the British power must itself dictate that it should be exercised with as much tact and forbearance as firmness denoting public good. Wherever that power, in its moral and material aspects, has not been able to overcome or reform the

the people whose life and condition have to be tolerated, there that power can only take very cautious and stable steps involving a change or revolution. The main difficulty in dealing with the army of any principal feudatory is to know the motive which render the maintenance of an apparently useless or mischievous force indispensable. If the groundwork and motive of these organizations are not clearly perceived, it would be more harmful than useful in insisting upon a radical change. It would be anomalous to treat the army of every State on one rigid principle. It would be a great stretch of imagination to maintain that the army of any and every Native State is a vicious burden on its revenues; that it should be swept away unreservedly; and that an entirely reformed and foreign force should take its place at the expense of that State. An irregular outline like this of the vital feature of a native adminstration can hardly delineate the variety and depth of coloring, or the thickly running imbedded lines which form the very body of that feature. It may be—and we believe it to be—that no wrong is intended by a writer whose evident object is to attempt rapid strokes of a big and rough brush on a thick canvas. The actual difficulties cannot be fully perceived till the question is taken up for practical disposal by those who would have to bear the full responsibility of the action.

In dwelling on the military affairs at Baroda the writer has made very broad hits which the actual conditions there ought to justify if we are to acquiesce in them. We cannot speak from any close knowledge of the question. Being, however, in the province itself, we are well able to see the hazy light in which the observations on the Guikwar's army in the *Times* appear to us. It is true that a good part of the revenue of the Baroda State is spent in the maintenance of a large force, consisting of about 500 cavalry, 3,000 infantry and 44 guns, besides an irregular force of 5,000 cavalry and 7,000 foot. The nondescript part of the force is deemed by the writer as remarkable for nothing else than "mischief and rapine." It may not be warlike—for it has hardly been trained so—but that it has indulged in "mischief and rapine" will be news to many on this side of India. It has not been reported so for many years, not certainly since the advent of the reformed administration of the Maharaja Sayajirao. If it is sometimes employed on the Nimas and other races, their turbulence must be the cause of the action, which may not at all imply that any ruler would thereby mean to "wreak his will on wretched sections of

the population such as the Nimas and other inferior races." Should such lowly or troublesome people create a disturbance, the force—irregular though it be—could be properly made use of at least as a police agency to restore order. If there was no such force one would have to be maintained for such a purpose. Such a purpose can hardly be pronounced "contemptible" in the interests of good government. It is no doubt unsatisfactory that lacs and lacs of rupees should every year be spent on a large force, some portion of which only may be fit for active service. Those fully acquainted with the deep-rooted institutions, in virtue of which thousands of foot and horsemen wring their maintenance from the State, will not be prepared to treat the force as if it can be disbanded at a moment's notice. The writer of the *Times* takes this view, and very strongly too, in this direction. He thinks that overwhelming grounds can be shown against the justification of its existence. The people are ground down with taxation so that it may be maintained. If the force was abolished to-morrow, the taxes will not be; for the taxes were not introduced simultaneously with the introduction of the force more than a century back. It is not exactly the story of a cause and effect. The taxation per head in Baroda territories is shown to be double to what it is in British India. We cannot omit one fact that continuous endeavours are reported to have been made at Baroda in the way of abolishing improper taxes. The British standard of taxation in India is hardly complete, nor is it the most desirable thing to follow, though it is highly gratifying that the general scale is low. We have for years together refused to acknowledge that the system of taxation in India is based on any scientific method, looking to the question as a whole. Likewise, in Native States, it is difficult to believe, in a general sense, that all that ought to come into the coffers of the Exchequer does come, or that the excess of revenues pointed out in the *Times* is simply due to extortionate methods devised by Native Chiefs. At any rate, at Baroda, an enlightened view is taken as to the various dues payable by the subjects. The principle on which action is generally taken is both reasonable and intelligible. We cannot run down the native system of taxation as devised simply to keep up idle and mischievous lots of people and on the mere assumption that the taxation may be so many times heavier than that of the British Government. Nor can the ruler at Baroda be discredited because of the existence of a large force being considered "a dangerous game" in connection

with "rulers of martial spirit," and so forth, as the *Times*' writer puts so plainly.

The young Maharaja who has difficult conditions to fulfil to maintain contentment among his subjects and at the same time to gain British esteem, might often find himself in the position of a nut between a pair of crackers. The force has been existing since generations bound up with the Sirdars' and Silledars' institutions of old. They cannot be cast away, nor can the able-bodied be pensioned. Every means is reported to be employed to exact various services from those who before used to idle away their time. The Chief gives promise of capacity to check wasteful expenditure, and there is no doubt that useless encumbrances are gradually weeded out. There is some good show of a military spirit at Baroda, which His Highness, perhaps, very legitimately inherits from many generations of rulers. There is no doubt that in times of trouble the force at Baroda would require looking after, but certainly much less than at some other Native States. An anxiety of this sort only runs common with the rest of the country, and it would not be fair to take any State to task for it, excepting in the sense that each State is bound to persevere in the reduction of useless rabbles with a view to provide more funds for the welfare of its subjects. If a Native State is expected to take this step, Baroda, we believe, will be found quite in advance in such matters. We need therefore much closer information to endorse the remarks of the *Times* that "the peoples between the Chumbul and the Nerbudda are now "given over by our excessive tolerance to the Mahratta tax-gatherer to be "fleeced and shorn for the purposes of an unnecessary and perilous display "of martial power." It is very probable that the closer our information about the dealings of Baroda with its army, the more shall we be satisfied as to the intentions existing in keeping it down and gradually increasing its efficiency. To seek to abolish an army of any State is almost an impossible task, for then all States should simultaneously do the same. No Chief will lower his prestige by divesting himself of his own influence, while other Chiefs remained in his time-honored position. The obstacles are various and, in particular instances, insurmountable, in seeking to discharge large numbers of forces like that of Baroda. Fully cognizant of these difficulties we early took up the question of the reforms needed in respect of the armies of the Native States. It would be wise to limit the strength in each State. It would be wiser to permit compact forces to attain every reasonable

efficiency. And it would be a much wiser act on the part of the British Government to devise that ultimate control and manipulation of the Native States' armies by which the security of the empire and its individual members may be ensured, every Chief may feel emulation in possessing and regulating a disciplined force, and no State may have reason to complain that its own position and services have been lowered or neglected, also to the loss of its own resources. The dissatisfaction of large numbers of subject populations cannot be courted without finding proper compensation for them. Nor can the revenues of any State be permanently alienated for the maintenance of a force which would be disproportionate, looking to both the wants of the individual State and the Empire in general. Keeping these fundamental principles in view which have yet to be recognized in British statesmanship at service in India, the Baroda kingdom, under its present painstaking ruler, is only likely to attract that sympathy in its task of reorganization which must eventually draw upon the high help and regard of the Suzerain power.—*12th October*, 1884.

How may we become Volunteers?

It is the apprehension of a war between Russia and India which has made some little stir especially among a few thousands of educated natives of India as to their right of being enlisted as Volunteers. A few Madrasis have already found entrance into the British Volunteer Corps of Madras. Calcutta has produced upwards of 400 natives, who have petitioned the Government of India to admit them into the Volunteer Corps. The Indian Association have spoken direct to the Viceroy to sanction and extend native volunteering. There are similar movements in other parts of India. The Anglo-Indians are not likely to show much enthusiasm in furthering these Indian applications. They do not at present look upon them with much disfavor, because the probability of a war with Russia is not quite imaginary yet. A few sections of them would just now even actively support this native aspiration. But as soon as the chances of a war have vanished, the Anglo-Indian community will lay full stress on the legal prohibition against the formation of Native Volunteer Corps, and in reference to admitting native gentlemen into the European ranks of Volunteers—probably a vast majority of them will discourage any such innovation.

At any rate the offers of our countrymen to become Volunteers to fight in their country's cause have just now uniformly pleased our Rulers as well

as the whole of the Anglo-Indian community. The substantial part of these offers come from the Indian Princes, some of whom could not fail in bringing into field a very large number of fighting men who could hold their own against the most disciplined forces. Since the general native communities could not yet form themselves into Volunteers, they need not think that native India could not offer any real strength to the British Government in times of emergency. We have not the least doubt that were the resources of India put to the severest test, independent native India can at once safely put forward a lac and fifty thousand men for mixed and active services. If doctors, barristers, judges and merchants could not just now find their aspirations to become Volunteers realized, they will find great satisfaction in the reflection that the Paramount Power can no longer afford to neglect the help offered by loyal native rulers. The Government is now quite convinced that it could no longer be satisfied with lip loyalty, but it is the material co-operation from native India which will henceforth be expected of it, whenever a foreign foe entertained any criminal design on India. We cannot explain better what we mean than by quoting below one of the sonorous and pregnant sentences to be found in the Lahore reply of Lord Dufferin to the Deputation of the Indian Association :—

"As you truly say, the princes and people of India have shown a truly noble and generous spirit of loyalty towards the Crown and the Government of Great Britain on the first alarm of external disturbance. In doing so, Her Majesty and the English nation recognize alike their courage, loyalty, and sagacity, for who could count the calamities which would fall upon its inhabitants were India to become the theatre of a foreign invasion, or were its ancient but re-vitalized and progressive civilization and the peace and tranquillity it now enjoys to be overwhelmed and broken up by an irruption of the fire and sword and all their revolutionary concomitants. But, happily, these dangers are too remote to affect any practical scheme of politics or administration. The normal forces of the Empire are more than sufficient to maintain the inviolability of our territory, and amongst those forces there is none more potent, more honourable, and more invincible than the consciousness that behind the organized and disciplined angle of the Indian armies is stored up that inexhaustible fund of popular loyalty and courageous enthusiasm to which you have so opportunely referred. In any event you may rest assured that, should circumstances require it, Her Majesty's Government will know how to avail itself in an effectual manner of your noble offers of personal service as well as of the various contingents of the Native States which have been so generously placed at its disposal."

No doubt it is only cold comfort to know that the British people might admit large bodies of native gentlemen as Volunteers when the country is placed in positive danger. In times of peace, or even doubtful peace, very

few natives need expect to aspire after fulfilling their glorious birthright of practising how to defend themselves and fight for the freedom of their country. The Viceroy spoke in no uncertain tone as to the impolicy of hastily conceiving a measure of raising Volunteer Corps of natives throughout the country :—

"Without pronouncing upon the merits of the representation which you have made, either in regard to the revision of the Arms Act or the formation of Native Volunteer Corps, I must frankly tell you that both are matters which must be discussed and adjudicated upon on their own merits, apart from the circumstances of the hour; nor would you wish me, I am sure, to pronounce upon them on this occasion of my casual visit to your city. Indeed, Government could not commit a greater mistake than to allow itself to be hurried incidentally into a decision in respect of two much grave and important questions, which, even if they were resolved in the manner you apparently most desire, could not receive an effectual and advantageous application, as you yourselves would be the first to admit, either universally throughout India or unaccompanied, where they were applied, by qualifying regulations which it would require great forethought and consideration to devise."

We cannot help admitting that no large decision can be passed at once on this very important question. We can cheerfully sympathize with the difficulties felt by the Viceroy in accepting the recommendations made by the Indian Association. But we believe the Viceroy is inclined, when His Excellency is freed from his present anxieties, to order practical enquiries being made as to how far it would be practicable and judicious to admit native gentlemen as Volunteers. The question must be solved at no very distant date. Native India cannot be refused a privilege which is at once as essential as honorable to their feelings. It is not likely they will long be insensible to the humiliation of being refused the right of self-defence and fighting for their own Government, while a semi-foreign community, like the Eurasians, can, in virtue of law, exercise this right. The measure in favor of natives cannot, it is true, be hastily or indiscriminately applied as the Viceroy very properly indicates. But its gradual, limited and tentative introduction should no longer be delayed, and the native leaders should labor and make apparent the numbers and character of their countrymen who are prepared to assume the functions of volunteering. As no hasty measure can be enforced simply because there may be some immediate chance of war, so the British Government cannot certainly take active steps to raise any large Native Volunteer Corps. In the first place let those come forward who can. It will then be the business of the Government to see if persons of [illegible] loyalty and stable character could be selected [illegible] could

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only be made from the highly-educated classes and from the aristocrats, merchants, officials, traders and landholders sincerely attached to the British rule. The duties of Volunteers being certainly not easy-going, there will after all not be many natives inclined to become Volunteers. While the task of making undoubted selections may not be difficult, the proportion of Natives to Europeans and Eurasians may be light till the experiment is actually worked. A field for volunteering should be opened on a limited scale in every possible direction ; for instance, some Hindus and Mahomedans may join a regiment of British soldiers ; some Christians and Parsis may join native regiments. Natives of approved character may also be admitted into Police corps located in towns and villages. And purely British Volunteers may also contain small numbers of Parsis, Sikhs, Rajputs and other sorts of natives. By following mixed methods of some such character as this, fresh element of strength may be created in moderate degrees to be mixed up with the various existing ones, where both cannot combine for any doubtful purpose, but may exist for mutual checks. It will be in the hands of the British authorities to regulate the number and character of Native Volunteers intended for each of the integral military, police and volunteers' sections proposed for them.

In a certain sense when war is apprehended the Government cannot be frightened into adopting any extended Native Volunteer movement. Hence the question put by the Indian Association to Lord Dufferin at Lahore was very delicate. It is of little use to be fussy when great dangers are apprehended. We ought mainly to see the difficulties which would beset our Government in founding a novel institution. Let our leaders be told the truth : they are hardly able to show any abiding enthusiasm in any difficult venture. As soon as all apprehensions of war are over, they will allow the question to pass into oblivion, and the Government is not likely to care for their eventual indifference. Those desirous of starting a volunteer movement cannot possibly succeed unless they go before the Government in calm times and induce it to sympathize with their object by laying before it a practical and moderate measure which we have to-day suggested. We are sure if our leaders go before our Government in a business-like and sober spirit, they will very probably succeed in having some safe movement, in which everybody could have some confidence, initiated, without exciting mistrust, ridicule, or opposition. —*26th April* 1885.

Sir Lepel Griffin has recently given the public an impression of being a hardy Briton differing very considerably from writers like Messrs. Keay and Blunt. Impartial men, little influenced by sentiment but a good deal by reason, are not likely to condemn Sir Lepel, nor applaud the writings of the former as the result of a logical and perfectly well-balanced mind. It is true that the Rajputana Agent to the Governor-General has very mercilessly dealt with the rather extreme views which Mr. Blunt recently gave to the world in the cause of the natives of India by unreservedly maligning the British administration of India. In this instance we beg leave to say that both Sir Lepel and Mr. Blunt have shown themselves as writers in a certain measure holding extreme views of a conflicting character. We do not deny that the former had some excuse to run down the latter, though it is quite clear that when a public controversy springs from strong personal sympathies or antipathies not fully controlled by consummate moderation, the great issues which the general public would like to interest themselves in are likely to be a little obscured.

Sir Lepel Griffin on the armies of Native States.

In the contribution of Sir Lepel Griffin to the London *Times* on the subject of the armies of the Native States he has acquitted himself as proficiently as any just, strong, and perfectly upright politician would have done. His letter is a calm, thoughtful, and generous reply to the series of articles published by the *Times* some time ago as penned by a very able and earnest writer whose information seemed to have been as wide as his conclusion was ludicrous in the very respect in which it was expected to be of any practical use. We had noticed these articles when they appeared, specially in reference to the forces of His Highness the Guicowar. We are much gratified to observe that a political officer of so high a position as Sir Griffin has expounded nearly the same views on the question under notice as we have done for the last few years. He has effectively refuted the contention of the *Times'* leaders, that the armies of Native States should be disbanded because, as persistently held by the writer, they were dangerous, both numerically and in a military sense of view, and were specially maintained by imposing a grinding taxation on the subjects of the Native Chiefs!

We can at once admit Sir Griffin as a great authority on the question of these native armies. He has been intimately connected with about a hundred of the ruling princes of India whose territories lie scattered

between the high ranges of the Punjab, Himalyas, and the Nerbudda. He has been accustomed for many years to inspect their forces and their forts. He thinks that the British Government would be greatly benefited by utilizing their forces, and the risk incurred would be nothing compared to the advantages which could be secured. The forces are not a burden on the States, but they are a source of pride and employment to the Chiefs and the people. The duties performed by these forces are so peculiar and useful that they could not be performed by the British troops. You cannot, therefore, condemn them as dangerous and useless.

These forces would be dangerous to the British supremacy in India if they belonged to any Native Chief from whom the Government had wrested the Empire. None of the Mogul Emperors now exist, nor the descendants of the Mahratta sovereigns with either an army or a kingdom. The ancient Hindu and other kingdoms now existing have either been scrupulously preserved by the British Government, or have acquired sovereign authority simultaneously with the latter when it upset the transitionary native paramount power of India. Among the numerous chieftains of India there are very few who, by nature, cannot be thoroughly loyal to the British to whom they all owe their preservation and continuous prosperity. They cannot, therefore, be hostile to the British. The great Rajput and Sikh States, as also Cashmere and Mysore, have all been saved by the British Government, while others might have been ruined had they been suffered to continue their murderous raids in the past times.

Taking the instances of Oodeypore, Jeypore and Jodhpore, Sir Lepel thinks that, as the British Government has done only good to them ever since its relations were opened with them, they will always remain loyal. The British Government rescued them from the Mahratta wave of the last century. The bulk of these Rajputs belong to the military class whose blood has been kept untainted for thousands of years through strict marriage laws. Whatever the dissensions between themselves, all the Rajput subjects would turn out against any foreign aggression as by tradition they have bound themselves to the Chieftains to defend them against any common foe. They are all trained to horsemanship and arms, and their Maharajas being such good and cordial allies of the British, we could reckon upon the services of many thousands of Rajput warriors whenever any emergency arose. It is the opinion of the distinguished Political that, so long as the Chiefs are loyal, their forces will fight on our

side. And as they are entirely recruited within the limits of the States, a safe proportion of any increased or reformed force of the British may be secured from these brave Rajputs and the other clans who have traditional sympathies with the English Government.

It speaks well of Sir Griffin that he has candidly and honorably exempted the Maharajas of Gwalior and Indore from any blame in reference to the constitution granted by them to their armies. We have the pleasure to quote this passage below :—

"With important Mahratta States, such as Gwalior and Indore, the constitution of the regular force is different. It has often been publicly stated that Maharajah Scindia forms a numerous reserve by passing his adult subjects quickly through his army. The statement is not only incorrect, but has no shadow of justification. The great majority of the regular troops of Maharajah Scindia, as of Maharajah Holkar, are foreigners from the north. The reason for this is that the Mahratta principalities were formed in recent years by conquest alone, and have little in common with the cultivating Hindoo population, which is unwarlike and dislikes military service; while the pay which these States offer is not sufficient to attract the Mahrattas of the Deccan, who, moreover, have lost much of their old predatory spirit. It is thus evident that the armies of Gwalior and Indore are less under the personal control of their Chiefs than those of Sikh and Rajput States. This was shown in the Mutiny when both armies broke away from control, although both Scindia and Holkar were personally loyal. At the same time the right to maintain their respective forces is the subject of distinct treaty engagements, and I know no reason why they should not form a valuable addition to the strength of the Imperial army, as the loyal and distinguished Maharajahs who own them would certainly desire."

Only the other day we expressed our conviction that the confusion and dismay caused in the early days of the Mutiny in the capital of His Highness the Holkar, who had then but recently assumed power, need not be the criterion by which to judge the unenviable position in which the Maharaja had found himself. Although his army had rebelled, His Highness himself was "personally loyal." Now that the Maharaja has become of ripe age there need be no surprise that he should be anxious not to allow the slightest taint of suspicion of old to attach to his good name. Sir Lepel has done well in publicly confirming the British faith in the loyalty of one of the most important Native Chiefs of India, who will consequently be greatly encouraged in his noble wishes as far as they may tend to contribute to the security and prosperity of the Indian Empire. Similarly, in respect of His Highness the Scindia, the notion that has been prevalent of his passing his adult subjects quickly through his army has been pronounced by Sir Lepel to be entirely unfounded,

"the great majority of the regular troops of Maharaja Scindia, as of "Maharaja Holkar, being foreigners from the north." The nation of India as well as the British community will gradually come to learn what important purposes the armies, like those of Indore and Gwalior serve in the interests of national safety. While the regular imperial army is far below the maximum point of efficiency, we cannot make light of the forces of the Native States. They may not have been managed properly in the old times, when they were perhaps placed in a compromising position quite unawares. The notion that they are dangerous is only now being slowly exploded. As their utility is now being urged, the time may come when their safe employment will be placed beyond doubt as it ought to have been years ago. It is a sign of the times that one of the most trusted political lieutenants of the Viceroy passes the highest eulogy on the character of the Indian feudatories whom he acknowledges as being fit to become the trusted allies of the English Crown. We would quote below the able passage on this point :—

"If the princes of India are loyal with a loyalty which would stand the severest strain, as I affirm that they are, then the armies they maintain need cause us no concern. We must accept the lessons of history; and it is no presumption to have full confidence in the friendship of those who have stood by us in good and evil fortune. Look at the black Mutiny days with the Nizam holding the Deccan quiet for us, Holkar maintaining order in Malwa, and the forces of Cashmere, Puttiala, Jhind, Nabha, and Kapurthala marching with us to Delhi, their gallant princes at their head. Remember the late Afghan war, when the Sikh contingents did admirable and memorable service on the frontier. See to-day, when the Mahomedan States of Hyderabad and Bhopal offer their troops for service in the distant Soudan. These offers are genuine. I was discussing her impromptu and uninspired offer of service with Her Highness of Bhopal a few days ago, and I am convinced that it would give unfeigned joy to that chivalrous Princess if her soldiers were allowed to fight the Mahdi side by side with the soldiers of the Queen."

If these armies are not to be utilized by their Chiefs or the Paramount Power, what is the country always to do with the 350,000 men and 4,237 guns of the Native Rajas? They are not drilled and equipped in the modern sense of the term. Many of these forces could not fire a gun, and if they did their guns would burst! They are only armed with the smooth-bore, matchlock, blunderbuss and spear! And these arms are found with the best part of the native forces, which, again, hardly number 30,000! Sir Griffin has such poor opinion of the military strength and arms in Native States that if "he were to throw together the armies of twenty States, horse, foot and guns, into a crucible and melt

down, they would not produce a residuum of military force and effic equal to a single breechloading British battery"! If it is wrong o part of the Native Chiefs to tax their subjects for keeping up antiq forces, which are mostly unusable and are over and above the want their territories, it seems to us much more unaccountable that Imperial Government should not get them to fulfil the full and legitim object of these forces. It would undoubtedly not be an easy task ascertain the correct number of the feudatories' forces which can permanently set apart for ordinary and extraordinary regular dutie These forces, with all the reforms to which they may be subject, wi still have to answer the different irregular purposes for which they now exist. While these purposes are served in a reduced degree, the same being unavoidable, the imperial needs will have to be provided for to the extent, which individual Chiefs could bear consistent with their resources, and all the really unavoidable employment of these resources in directions peculiar to their kingdoms.

We may congratulate the Native States of India on having for themselves such a just, sincere and discreet friend as Sir Lepel Griffin.—*24th May*, 1885.

The Empire's Present Interests.

It is well on the present juncture to listen to administrators and politicians who have acquired invaluable experience of the real capacity, wants and weaknesses of the Indian Empire by serving its vital interests for successive generations as it were. The high Politico-military authority who has this week favoured us with the following on the present situation, is one of those who have rendered India highly distinguished services for a period only less than half a century. The part which we should quote from his valuable letter is brief and pregnant with indications of a sound policy, which India now wants, and which we have no doubt Earl Dufferin, as we stated at the very moment he placed his foot on the Indian shores, will do everything in his power to secure for the Empire, which His Lordship now vigorously administers. Here is the extract above alluded to:—

"You will have heard long ere this reaches you, that the prospects of war are for the present in abeyance. For this I feel thankful, for we are not prepared for such a contest as war with Russia, and *the mere idea* of such a struggle must be most mournful to all real well-wishers of India." What is now needed is that we should prepare for this war, and that both in India and England.

"I trust that some means may be found of associating the Military "Forces of the Native Chiefs with our own, and gradually raising their "efficiency so as to fit them to work and serve with ours.

"The erection of a certain number of fortresses at important strategic "points on or within our frontier, from Peshawar to Kurrachee, is also "needed, for the support of our troops and the security of the country. "These fortresses, with a proper system of railways and strong base "positions, would be of immense value if war unhappily took place. I "am not at all in favour of sending troops *to Herat*, but we should be in a "position to occupy Candahar in force, if necessary from Quetta, which "would be the head-quarters of our Army Corps."

There are strong parties, both here and in England, who deem it a cowardice on the part of the latter not to adopt the severest possible measures against Russia with a view to save India from her future aggressions. The fact is England has been taken unawares as far as the military organization required for an extensive war is concerned. It is the same with Afghanistan. However some may reproach England for failing to check the progress of Russia when she descended from Merv, we may only now admire the tact and patience with which all our authorities combine in driving away the war-cloud from the East and the West. Our distinguished Correspondent, who has the most favorable opportunities to watch the course of affairs and form an authoritative opinion thereon, has struck the true chord of national feeling when he says that he feels thankful that the prospects of war are for the present in abeyance, for, as he shrewdly and boldly perceives, "we are not prepared for such a contest as war with Russia, and the mere idea of such a struggle must be most mournful to all real well-wishers of India." India has no experience of war with a great Western Power backed by hordes of fanatic and warlike Asiatics. Russia having unopposed advanced upon the Afghan frontier, cannot under any condition provoke England to war with her unless she dared so far as to openly violate the Afghan Kingdom. The petty Penjdeh conflict was the insane act of a covetous Russian General not affording the remotest ground for a *casus belli*. No discredit, however small, can be attached to England for not forcibly ousting Russia from the region below Sarakhs and Khoja Saleh. The discredit, however, will be serious if we now so concluded the negotiations that a chance may be left to Russia to continue her raids against the Afghan territories at any point

from Cabul to Zulficar. This is the time to decide upon the real our frontiers where we can assert our strength with the greatest adv to India, both politically and militarily. It should be carefully d whether our maximum strength should be displayed so far up as Car or at Quetta only. As we before maintained there is no help but to ma a double base for our operations, the correctness of which view is borne out in the above extract, in which it is pointed out that, when ne sary, Candahar should be held in force, while Quetta is maintained as head-quarters of our army. When the negotiations are concluded we shal able to know—(1) what precautions have been taken to secure Afghanist against the Russian raids; (2) what measures have been devised f re-casting the military organization of the whole Afghanistan; (3) wha vindicative means have been agreed upon between India and Afghanistan should the latter, on account of any cause, betray any sort of weakness in protecting itself, or become a source of danger instead of support to India. It is almost certain that unless the Amir avails himself of active British help in so regulating the affairs of the Russo-Afghan frontiers that Russia may have no pretext to interpose, there will be every chance in future for Russia to extend her territories in the heart of Afghanistan, or establish her protectorate over it. In case the Amir permits sufficient British influence to be established in Afghanistan, the Indian frontiers would be less liable to danger. But whether this be the case or not, the Government of India cannot help bestowing their most serious thought on vastly enhancing the *permanent* military strength of the Indian Empire. We have first of all contended that India should be made self-acting for her effectual defence, that she ought not always to rely upon another country for the purposes of her own defence. We earnestly trust the question of the military strength of India will now be viewed from this point of view by all authorities and associations whose voice must have weight in the settlement of this question. A little time will be required before we have made substantial progress towards the fulfilment of the ideal that ought to be adopted at once. But there need be no delay in inviting some of the Native Princes to reform portions of their forces which could either be employed for garrison purposes, or, as auxiliaries to the British Army proceeding to a battle-field. Another, wise measure would be to actively foster the native volunteering spirit which has now appeared in India. One of the most valuable and wisest administrators who has l

and most faithfully and actively served India—we refer to our Correspondent—*says with confidence that the forces of the Native Chiefs may be rendered fit for working with the British Army*. And many of our present political officers, if questioned on the subject, will reply to the same effect. It would be dangerous in the highest degree to neglect this question longer. It is fortunate at the present moment that neither England nor Russia is prepared for a war. It is excusable for Russia to be unprepared, for she has gained her point without a war for the present. Having secured a very favorable base, may we not safely conclude that her next step will be to subjugate *Afghanistan* by her innate stratagems and daring violence displayed on the first opportunity she could avail of? Can any one say with certainty that Russia is not even now preparing for a war, even if it be that any failure on her part to get all out of the present negotiations that she would desire may hereafter be held as an excuse for advancing upon Herat with a comparatively overwhelming force? It has not been stated anywhere that our own Government, without causing any cessation in the preparations undertaken a few weeks ago, are bent upon increasing and improving their armaments of all classes. It is possible that England may long be placed on a false scent altogether, while the object of Russia might be to temporize till she could occupy Herat in force and unresisted by the Amir. Once she seizes Herat she would not get out of it till forced to do so by a military defeat administered to her by England. Russia knows well that England will not send her forces to Herat; and, further, if she be not quite prepared for war, Russia is not likely to have the least compunction in seizing the fertile valley of Herat, thence to threaten both Persia and India. When our Correspondent states that the British are not prepared for such a contest as war with Russia, he probably means that England, in case she declared war, would not for the present find a powerful ally to join her against Russia; and England, without a first class ally to range on her side, cannot smash Russia in the way it would be desirable to do for the security of India. Under these circumstances Russia must even now be maturing her designs to enter Herat. Let us not, therefore, be lulled into sleep.

All India must, therefore, be astir. Every State and every political association in the country should pay the most serious attention to the proposal we have been advocating for several years and to the apprehensions we have just explained. We are expected to be ready at any moment to

face Russia with an overwhelming force. And where are we to f unless a permanent addition is at once made to our army by Eng also by availing ourselves of about a lac and fifty thousand men Native States? These men would not be fit for the field at a m call till they have been brought up by the drilling of a few months a The only check which can now tell against the rapacious designs of is the most efficient preparedness for war against her the momen proved false in diplomatic intercourse, and the moment she showed of committing violence upon our neighbouring country. Are we perf sure that the Amir has no double game in view, or that he may eventually elect to please both Russia and England? It must be reme bered that Russia will always be closer to Afghanistan than England, wh the former will be far more ready than the latter in either bullying t Amir or making to him unscrupulous concessions. Henceforth, the Am will always feel the necessity for being subject to the most accessible power ful friendly influences, owing to the intrigues and complications expecte in his own kingdom by the close situation of ambitious and designing Russian Generals. A constant rivalry being thus created between Russia and England, the only remedy left in the hands of the latter is the invincibleness of her arms.—*7th June*, 1885.

The Question of Reserves and Retrenchments.

IT is a grave State circumstance that the Indian Empire, as one of the most important and largest States in the world, should not be able to bear such ordinary financial burden which may be brought about by hostile threats from a neighbouring power. The Russian advance and contumacy upon the Afghan frontier has, of course, plunged India into some extraordinary expenditure, which may eventually come to about one-fourth of a year's revenues of the country. Already, therefore, an anxiety-inspiring Circular has been issued by the Government of India calling upon all the subordinate Governments and the Local Boards to narrowly watch every expenditure with a view to reduce it as much as possible, and prevent its increase in any shape and direction in which it may be possible to keep it down. The outcome of this warning may result in the saving of many petty expenditures and in the suspension of much larger expenditures calculated to be of great value to the interests of the commonwealth. It is undoubted that the action taken by the Government of India is

able and is perhaps the only effective one which they could take as dictated by the constitution by which they are ruled. A republican or a most prosperous Government might adopt a similar action; the only difference would be that none of these Governments, when conducted on a more rigid and a more patriotic principle, would resort to an identical course of enforcing retrenchments in current expenditures except in a far more radical condition of tightness than any which the mere brag of an offensive, blustering neighbour may tend to produce in the ordinary run of matters.

The enforced position of the Government of India, taken singly and individually, is apt to tempt our sympathetic feelings much more than those of disapproval. In the course they have adopted they deserve every support that the public bodies can lend them. Little or no power is left them to question the legitimacy of several crores of annual charges incurred in England for the more or less assumed benefit of India. It is only a Viceroy who sees *nothing wrong in public policy to offer himself as a martyr, who can boldly touch the bottom of the Home charges and of* some of those incurred in India, and can rigidly question the propriety of any extraordinary expenditure when sought to be wholly foisted upon the poorly managed revenues of India. India, however, is so badly situated that we are not likely very willingly to demand martyrship from our Viceroys. Such statesmen would not be tolerated in England, while the prospects for India would not be improved. For, in this case, really able men would be discouraged to come out, while secondary characters would only be too willing to snatch at the prize, which so few can now covet.

That so vast a country as India should not have in reserve an interest-paying capital at least amounting to one year's revenues to meet emergent calls, such as famine or war, is a fact only less deplorable than the other pertaining to our present very weak defences. We have urged in a work some years ago that no enlightened finances of a large Empire like India can be safe or creditable unless a hundred crores of rupees were always safely locked up not idly but well, to be employed only when a really bad day overtook India. We cannot help remarking that it is hardly creditable to England that holding, as it does, the first rank in the administrative services of the world, it should have as yet failed in securing for India some essential reserve, which the most ordinary spendthrift would think of doing for himself. This one of the most vital questions has been disregarded in a

manner that must invite an adverse verdict of the world on the inefficiency displayed by the British Government in so far as this woful deficiency so unmistakeably betrays. If India were plunged into a prolonged and disastrous war—which God forbid—it will have to incur a debt which, joined with the one already existing and eating up a good portion of our current revenues, would grievously disable India in a manner that generations might feel its blasting effects. We must candidly say that this would not be a result which could at all hold the British Government in a better light as compared with the rule of the extinct native despots.

Whatever the failure of the English Government in securing reserves to meet unexpected contingencies, no local administration is likely to fail in omplying with the urgent orders of the Government of India. Barring the consideration of a more serious compulsion coming upon the Government of India as they apprehend in certain conditions of future birth, it is not unlikely that the various administrations will loyally show certain amount of savings in conformity with the Circular. But the measure enforced is singular enough to suggest another of infinitely higher mport. It would be well if the latter were to be gradually considered for eing operated upon.

It is necessary to know clearly and practically what such a measure ould be. It could not be undertaken piecemeal. The question of ficient reserves could not be fully disposed of until the question of the quacy or otherwise of the present revenues is judged upon from all ts of view. To-day's standard of the soundest condition of the Indian ces does not indicate anything beyond a surplus of some lacs of s. The year in which there is such a surplus is deemed a favourable but a greater number of years proclaim deficits and not any ses, however small. No public works or unforeseen expenditures magnitude could be undertaken without going to the market for a nd adding to the present crushing indebtedness of India. No ist out of which the capital of this debt could be liquidated in asurable distance of time.

no doubt a comparatively easier matter to speak of such evils oint out such means for their abatement as would commend to the attention of those responsible for the country. It is a regret that no constitution has been yet formed f

full rational responsibility with regard to our finances. It is not merely the British Government to blame on this point, for the public of India have not yet succeeded in moving them towards the above end.

In two ways an important obligation towards India is now being neglected which the Press of the country has not yet pointed out. A good portion of the expenditure with which India is saddled is what it ought not to bear. But if such disbursements are to be stopped, some of the powerful interests in England would suffer; and these interests are, therefore, in our way. The other way in which the common interests of India are wronged is the haphazard and very deficient manner in which its people are taxed. Certain sections of them are adequately taxed, while many of the influential and important sections are either not taxed at all, or taxed in a very light degree. We make bold to say that from 15 to 20 crores of rupees are thus left unrealized. If this sacrifice is considered a compensation for an equal amount more or less unjustly absorbed by England every year, no greater error in statesmanship could be committed. We have futher to maintain that not less than, say, 6 crores of rupees are also annually lost to the country since they are actually spent by Native States on their armies, which are now as much useful in times of emergencies as bundles of sticks. This startling waste of the country's resources may some day cause us heavy repentance which would then be of no avail.

As we have already observed it may be easy enough to point out many heavy items of expenditure which India may not be called upon to bear, but it is very difficult to insist on their discontinuance on account of the vested and powerful interests which they have sustained for a long time. It is most lamentable that questions of enormous illegitimate expenditures, of expenditures which require to be regulated, and of sources of revenues indifferently levied, or pitiably neglected, are not permitted to be discussed from opposite points of view in the subordinate and supreme Councils in India as in the Parliament and India Office at home. No constitution can be established for the Indian Finances in both countries unless this primary condition is fulfilled. We have for many years advocated that all the Councils which we have stated should command the assistance of paid executive members and honorary members, independently nominated, before whom and their Government colleagues the annual Budgets should come for elaborate and unfettered discussion. No item

of either expenditure or revenue will then pass unchallenged, while original financial expositions may be expected for the relief of the present financial distresses which are a source of great danger and discredit to India. Every Council should have the independent Executive Member, of great talents and ability, to study and explain every financial feature and difficulty. He will make the task of the honorary members easy and worthy of weight. Whereas now not only that there is no representative member who can tell the public how financial affairs are managed, but even if such freedom were granted to the legislative members, they are not likely to become acquainted with the hard business we are now speaking of. The present number of honorary Councillors is very few ; the number being deplorably inadequate as judged in relation to the multifarious and complicated questions which a popular representative and authoritative Council can deal with. The double featured representation in each Council of executive and honorary functions will command real power and numbers which must certainly influence in the long course the financial administration of the country. None of these members need have any power to suspend any measure of Government. All they might do is to pass ample criticisms on a properly formed budget before it is passed, and thus give the public every opportunity of dwelling upon the financial affairs before the new year's operations commence. It is the definite revelations and discussions taking place in the Council that are calculated to produce substantial results, and no general condemnation or exhortations which generally proceed from self-constituted bodies who are not in possession of the spirit and information to be found in actual working Councils. Sound and durable reforms very much depend upon a true and constant knowledge disseminated in the public, who are then in a position to have such reforms enforced. To impart a further guarantee to the conduct of the Indian Government, the India Office at home must necessarily also have paid executive representative members deputed from India, whose functions will be the same as those exercised by similar members in India. The India Council should meet on all suitable occasions and discuss with the independent members every fiscal measure of importance, whether applied, or intended to be applied, in the future. This would be one effectual way of fairly counteracting the glorious uncertainty of the party Government in England being able to discuss [illegible] abroad

specific grounds on every occasion that such discussion may be demanded. The India Council can thus be made a miniature Parliament for India, in which its interests, whenever interfered with by England or the Indian authorities, may be discussed in daylight with an emphasis and authority which are sure to tell on the British nation in England. The Council will thus be represented by extreme but prudent members from India, both in executive and honorary capacities. It may be left to the option of able representatives to proceed from India to attend the Council meetings for whatever sessions they chose to do so, provided that the number of such irregular members did not exceed beyond the one fixed, and the intending members gave previous notice of their intentions to start and the questions they proposed to discuss as falling within the range authoritatively prescribed. The difficulties existing against the introduction of natives in the Parliament are so great that we may confidently recommend the adoption of this measure as a solid concession to the Indian nation. It may be desirable to balance the popular element in the Indian Council by permitting the Indian Government to depute members from among their subjects and servants in whom the Government may have confidence. Every opportunity and facility may be given to throw full and independent light on every concern which affect the national resources and strength of India. It is in this manner that by slow and gradual processes a Parliamentary school may be opened on some rational basis, both in India and England, in relation to the Eastern interests of the British Empire. In that school, in the first five years' period, will be found the cream of Indian culture, and agricultural, educational, mercantile, municipal, official, and princely aristocracy. No greater safety-valve can be created just at present for modern India. No more effectual answer can be given to those who have the knack of propounding crude and impracticable theories of popular government, even with original and practical suggestions before them, and who deliberately ascribe every evil motive to the governing powers of the two countries.

It is by permitting the association of independent, searching and fresh elements with the Councils in India and England that the responsibility of the Executive Viceroy and of the Secretary of State for India will be lessened, while every possible facility may be secured for promoting the finances of our country and devising the considerable measures which its permanent security needs more and more every day. We cannot too

often repeat that the Indian Empire is in the greatest danger owing to its extreme financial inefficiency in providing adequate defences against the treacherous and formidable advances of Russia, which have the demoralization of India as much as of Turkey and Persia for their object. Unless, therefore, the financial resources of India—both British and Native—are handled and manipulated in a fearless and masterly manner through the aid of the united national voice of India, our country must remain in constant and serious jeopardy for its very existence and freedom. The princely and other numerous leaders of the country should be taken into confidence with a view to make this large country *entirely self-acting at any moment of danger*, in reference to its ability to repel aggressions from any and all sides. The present endeavours of the Government of India to secure reserves for unexpected contingencies are no doubt commendable and all that is desired; and yet these endeavours, looking to the demand of the hour, may be said to be merely scratching the surface. We, therefore, earnestly hope that Earl Dufferin may be graciously pleased to move in this matter in a manner that may at once inspire public confidence as to utilizing the vast material, moral and intellectual resources of India which, we would respectfully submit, its safety and consolidation demand—most imperatively demand—without an hour's loss. Considering the time usually taken in considering and adopting measures of acute and popular representation, such as we have above indicated, we trust and hope that our hints will not be deemed impatient, for they are suggested after a study of our country's politics extending close upon a quarter of a century.—*14th June*, 1885.

The Liberals *in extremis*, and India's opportunity.

WHEN a certain Aryan god was much incensed by the conflicts and grievances of his lesser satellites, he gave vent to a curse to the effect, that the affairs of human kingdom shall ever remain unstable. The community were not then radically divided, nor were they widely dispersed from each other.

A curse of this sort seems to have affected the Government of England since many generations. The national voice which once raised Mr. Gladstone as its own crowning glory, is on the point of discarding him from its potent influence. If he and his party were omnipotent in wisdom, and prescience, and energy, they would yet be formed [illegible] for the

permanent worship of the population. But *rightly did one of the* Asiati gods declare that a monopoly of strength and wisdom shall not lie with an single man, or a single nation.

We may not, then, be surprised were the Gladstone Ministry to com shortly to an end. We are not inextricably concerned either in thei defeat, or in their success. The Indian regard ought to be uniform fo all the potential parties of England. We cannot abuse and malign th Conservatives any more than we could praise and applaud the Liberals Neither the one nor the other party will always vindicate the constant an highest interests of India from disinterested motives, pure and simple When either of the two casts a kindly eye on India, the mainsprings mus be moved by its constituencies. When one of them detects an Indian blo and exposes it, the party must be strictly regulated by the powerful interest of its home-ridden constituencies. If one of these parties comes out with a generous concession for India, it must be understood that the interests of its constituencies are not thereby imperilled, or that it mattered little to them in what way the Indian question brought up would be decided.

It so happens, then, that the abstract sense of right or wrong, just or unjust, bears but a minor reference to the influences which underlie the administration of this large empire. The statesmen of England directing our affairs for the time being may ever be so able and honest, that would not be the sole reason of any good or evil done to India. Our large fates are controlled by the most intricate, the most elaborate, and the most conflicting mechanism which move the clock-dial of our own mother country. There is not a statesman in England—however high or slight his ability—who does not watch this mechanism ; who does not adapt himself to this mechanism ; who is not himself swayed by it ; or who does not ingeniously contrive to put it in good humour, and contrive to evade it more or less when very inconvenient for wholesale adaptation.

Oftentimes some disgust is excited in our mind what perversities stalk throughout England in reference to the administrative acts of its conflicting parties, and, what is worse, in reference to what is *really* good or bad for the Empire of the Queen-Empress. We suspect that there has always been but a thin line of demarcation between the politics of one party and those of the other. This becomes apparent from the generally uniform policy which is observed by the Opposition when stepping into office, though it is undoubted that each party, when placed in office, tries

to mend what it may strongly deem as the errors or the deficiencies of the one it supersedes. The mischief is that the succession of a new party does not take place till feelings on both sides are thoroughly embittered and exasperated. We need not, therefore, be surprised that when the new party comes in, it is partly influenced by a certain amount of perversities which stick to it as dirt and filth till they so far germinate that they expedite its doomsday to readmit the very party which it once ousted. It must not be forgotten that the party which enters triumphantly has its own glowing costumes side by side with its dirty rags, and with this ludicrous combination it is installed on the *rajgadi*. Far more lucky than either of these transient parties of England are the modern Rajas of India, whose power and influence last till their life-time. It is possible, however, that what individual persons lose in England is gained in their national interests.

It cannot be denied, however, that a party may help us to turn over a bright page along with a dark one. The bright one which the Liberal Ministry has given us is in the embodiment of the able Viceroys appointed during its tenure; and the black one is its hasty and reproachable abandonment of a railway intercourse between India and Afghanistan, the disastrous effects of which are marked in the recent advances and impudent aggressions near Herat—the end of which we have yet not seen.

The question for consideration now is how long shall India entirely remain the football of the contending factions of England. How long are we to be fed with the mercy and patron-morsels issuing from these illustrious parties of England? Let our leaders know that we do not even enjoy the right and vote which the millions of labourers in England will very shortly enjoy. What the reformed suffrages of England will do for India we cannot now say. Every interest in England, whether represented by aristocracy, wealth, industry, art, or, what is much more serious, numbers, is now potentially represented. It is poor India alone able from its vastness to overwhelm all those elements put together if mere gigantity is considered, which is neither represented *in* India, or *out* of India! And this while we can place but little faith in the adequacy of our military and naval defences, and while all our giants of strength are demoralized and crippled!! Where are the leaders of India? What are they about? We were thankful to know that our scheme for starting a vigorous daily journal in London was to be considered in due time. We ...

fully beg not a day may be lost in maturing this most serious project, which Native India should be proud and eager to achieve.

It is a burning shame to enlightened India not to let itself powerfully felt in the very heart of the British nation. Take note that the ordinary labourers of England have got a voice in its administration and in our own too. And yet no chief, no merchant, no landlord, no patriot of India can say to-day that his nation has compelled England to listen to the wants and aspirations of India. We have permitted the people of England to lie in dense ignorance in reference to our dangers and pains. They sadly want enlightenment from the East to dissipate the prevailing dark clouds of the West. No number of telegrams and petitions and effusions from the Native Press can ever tell as much as a single patriotic paper in England conducted by a vigorous and trustworthy native staff from India and daily published and widely circulated there would do. It must be a paper of great independence, authority and power, having ample resources at its disposal, very cheaply printed, and commanding news and information from all the East as well as from every town of Great Britain and the Continental countries. The main staff must be composed of well-paid patriotic writers residing both in India and England, who should depend on the strength, honesty, and wisdom of a very large patriotic committee living in principal parts of India. One of the first hopes for extensive reforms in India is centred in the full working of this institution to be introduced in England by the direct and genuine efforts of India.

We have here indicated one specific method by which we may prepare the people of England to evince interest in the various vital problems concerning this country. The proposed daily, which we have already termed as *The Sun, or, The Light of the East*, will have to be singularly independent of any factions in England. If honestly, vigilantly, and vigorously conducted, its support will be courted by every party in England. It would become a powerful supporter of the Crown. It would not be the tool of either the Tory or the Whigs. It will range on the side of any party which is in the right in the Empire's interests. It will side with every problem when its merits have been well sifted, and it became worthy of adoption by the State and the people. It would denounce any party which wilfully sacrificed India, or neglected its security or prosperity, when that appeared its life-blood. It would sympathize in the difficulties of the

various communities of England by advocating their interests, though they may clash with those of the influentials. It would point out plans of relief and welfare to those who may be deprived of any gain that is now obtained by wronging India in various ways. It would lay bare all interested and hollow advocacy of the Indian interests, and induce the electoral constituencies to base their cause on their own legitimate interests. By the means of this organ we shall open up a sympathetic intercourse with England and her Colonies *so as to be mutually helpful in times of dangers and calamities.* Whether the Liberals or Conservatives happen to be *in extremis*, India will not have to be so anxious as it is now liable to be. Not until we have demonstrated this direct, this full-bodied, activity, that we shall be able to bring about wholesome changes in the Indian constitution and expect to become a *part of* the executive governments in India and England, or to enter the Parliament and the Ministry of the latter country.

We trust this movement may be undertaken without delay. There is no public object of so wide, consistent and disinterested a character—none more national and representative than the one we have elucidated from time to time. Every Province and every State ought to be interested in this national venture which will strike at the very heart of the British nation, who are so slow to move in respect of securing our permanent protection and developing our material resources. The remedy is no mean one which we have pointed out as one of the several which might afford some redress for the humiliating and insecure position in which we find the country now placed. Five years after such a journal is started, India might meet with anger, scorn and its own innate strength the rapacious motives of any foreign Power which ventured to endanger its peace without its having done anything to harm that power—as the case now is between Russia and India. One of the measures which that journal will have to persistently advocate would be for bringing about the reorganization of the Indian finances and its various military and naval organizations, to render the Empire fully self-acting and invincible, on critical occasions of foreign dangers, or of internal disturbances and calamities.—*28th June*, 1885.

The Great Change is coming!

It gratifies me to observe that the *Times of India* has not only advocated the bold policy of taking the native printer into the confidence of British-National-India, but has once for all boldly adopted my suggestion, that the Viceroy [illegible]

Grand Council to inaugurate the scheme which would be, as the *Times* truly and honestly says, received with "acclamation" throughout India.

Whether there is to be a war or no war with Russia in the immediate future, the measures of self-defence for India should be placed on a reformed and permanent basis on nearly the same scale as may be dictated by the active and available forces of Russia, Persia and Afghanistan combined, and according to such combination as may be effected against India, should the development of further events render this circumstance possible. If such a combination were ever to take place—and it is best to take the gloomiest view in such matters—it may also be presumed that one or more of the European Powers will confederate with Russia against India and England. In such an emergency, each dependency of England should be made sufficiently self-acting for its own defence. It is on this great ground of expediency and equity that I would respectfully solicit His Excellency the Viceroy to take the step right royally to unite India into one cemented bond of inspired loyalty, unity, and friendship, which alone will be the proper answer to militant Russia.

The nations of India—whether they be Britons, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, or Christians—should with one voice denounce those Russian demons who have threatened innocent India with the bloodiest anarchy, plunder and carnage that the world has ever yet witnessed. Is this brutal threat in return to any evil done by India to Russia, or any similar threat first levelled at Russia by India? No! "England is spoiling our interests "in Turkey—it does not allow us to swallow it wholesale, therefore ye "mild and wealthy India, we want to devastate thy fields, thy treasuries, "thy hearths and homes! Our barbarous and hungry legions desire "plunder and wealth; hence shall we seek thy devastation." A native saying runs—"you never did me any wrong, neither did your "forefathers; but your oxen have mocked me,—and that is enough"!

I now put this question earnestly and respectfully to every British and Native Officer, to every prince, to every patriot, to every trader and merchant, to every zemindar and social and religious leader of India,—is National India to pass over this brutal insolence and burning insult without mustering a dignified capacity to enable her to smother this villainous design in its very origin?

It is in pursuance of this black design that the Bear has violated a territory that it should have kept inviolate. If her designs on Afghanistan are

not to bring about the degradation and ruin of India, what is the other motive? There can be no other motive: at least nothing better than the nefarious one I have been pointing out. Has she been able to tell us that one of these days Great Britain intend to usurp Native States; to loot the aristocracy; to destroy our arts and trades; to shut up schools and colleges; to interdict the freedom of the Press or a free railway travelling; or to employ measures for arresting progress and prosperity, and consigning the princes and the people to the bondage of servitude and misery? Can she dare tell us, that if we permitted the transfer of the Paramount Power to her that she could introduce higher civilization amongst us; that she can by a magic wand grant us a more beneficial and a more extensive form of self-government; that she could, in a similar manner, open new sources of industry and wealth to spread universal content; that she would tolerate the numerous free and enlightened governments of India; and that she would suffer its numerous nationalities to outstrip her own, in progress and prosperity, as they are so now already? Can she venture to state a reasonable period in which she could grant India a constitutional government, or Parliamentary and other free institutions? Can she admit that her Government would for any length of time, after her introduction, tolerate India's patriots and orators, as our noble English Queen does? Supposing Russia ever succeeded in seizing India, what would be the terrible amount of indemnity she would go on taking from her, and for what mortal period would she be instrumental in suppressing the national works of the country, which are now searchingly applied to the well-being of every class of the Indian populations? Questions of this sort, and of the utmost gravity, can be multiplied *ab libitum*. We know what the answers would be: they would be of the most depressing character. The threatening steps proceeding from a nation so hostile and so unrefined as the Russians are such as ought to meet with the deepest national resentment and anger of every community in India!

It is on the condition that Afghanistan is able to repel the Russian attack on Herat, effectually and ignominiously even, if necessary, by an armed compact with Persia, that India can be spared the new anxiety which would sit upon her heart should Afghanistan be cowed down by Russia. Situated as we are we cannot afford to have the numerous warlike tribes of Afghanistan and Asiatic Russia hostile to India bent on slaughtering

its foes and establishing their predominance over India! It would be a fatal blunder of the most serious magnitude if ever the British Government allowed Russia to occupy Herat by force of arms! It is of the utmost importance that India should be made strong enough to make Afghanistan its most friendly and its most respected feudatory, and to hold Russia for ever in check beyond the Paropamissus Range. I beg the public and the Government to note that if they were to suppose that nothing more than the Indian frontiers need be protected in the interests of India, we shall have to double up our resources, for we must then not count upon Afghanistan as our ally, but as the pliant and unscrupulous tool of Russia ever fed by her with the wildest of hopes and aspirations detrimental to India. It is by securing our firm hold on the Afghans that we can keep them as our friends,—as our active allies, in whose country we can gradually establish ourselves, both to make them strong and to render them our own help when their country was placed in danger. No crafty or violent means on the part of Russia should place us out of our guard, and permit her to subdue the independence and integrity of Afghanistan. We ought not to mind even a little irritation with the Afghans, for we know that it can be soon removed and our disinterested motives could be soon established there. The armies of the Native States should, therefore, be placed on active footing as early as possible; and let the British Generals and Native Princes all unite in declaring, as an answer to the Russian design upon India, that they can march upon Samarcund and Bokhara and restore the Central Asian tribes their old kingdoms under certain conditions. India may not actually go to this length, but let us so far be prepared at least. Let us be prepared with a fitting answer to the insolent design upon India so persistently held by Russia menacing our peace and happiness.

It must, however, be admitted that we cannot enter into any contest with Russia unless the most unavoidable necessity is felt. The Afghans do not entertain the best of feelings towards the British Government in India, but a few more or less serious affairs like the massacre of the Afghans at Penjdeh must produce a very strong feeling also against the Russians in the whole of Afghanistan. So far the aspect of affairs will contribute to the interests of India. It would be both politic and humane, therefore, not to let the Afghans become the pliant creatures of the Russians, for the former in being entirely friendly and subject to the British are likely to become prosperous and civilized, which they could not be under

Russian domination. Thus in the case of an extreme and rapacious Russian policy against the Afghans, our Government have to be sufficiently strengthened for coping with Russia in Afghanistan.

What, again, is to be guarded against is (and this has been more entirely lost sight of) the future machinations of Russia with the Afghans and their various leaders which may probably be exercised in securing a ready pass through the Herat Valley in case of a war in Europe. The present effort of Russia have a double aim; first, that of taking all the Afghan elements in hand either for a friendly or bullying treatment; the other being to command a military base in Afghanistan for effecting an approach to the Indian frontiers, whenever events in Europe and elsewhere impelled Russia to do so. If this were allowed, or both Afghanistan and India should be so weak as to be unable to check this inroad, the Russians will so far be able to utilize and vitiate Afghanistan against India. Here we perceive another reason why the army of India should gain a great accession in its present strength. Any time the Afghans are not fully able to check the Russians passing through their territory, India should have a large number of spare force to enter Afghanistan even up to Herat if indispensable.

I have always shown how dangerous it is to treat the Afghans in any other light than that of our active ally. We can never afford to do without them unless we have the ability of indefinitely adding to our resources—which we have not. We must generally rest content with the additional resources which Native States can spare for local and imperial forces, and this additional strength can make India self-acting in its defence in the event of a great war with Russia. I have no doubt that so sound and so capable a diplomatist like the Earl of Dufferin may be graciously pleased in good time to devise a quiet, unobjectionable and effective method of calling the council suggested in past numbers to prepare the native chieftains and leaders of India to take an earnest and active share in the reorganization of the military defences of this Empire. His Excellency can well produce in them that stream of loyalty and zeal and affection for the Queen, which will not cease flowing till the British Empire lasts.—*26th July*, 1885.

Resuscitation of the Armies of Native States.

WE cannot of course quote wholly in our very limited space the admirable leader in the *Times of India* of July 20 bearing on the necessity for granting a reform to the army organization of Native States. ... tirely in

accord with the views we have held on the question for many years, and we only wish they had been as heartily and as fully recognized when the first work on *The Forces of the Native States in relation to the defence of the Indian Empire* was published in 1875. For the present we may be content with reproducing the following passage from the said article with a hope that now that the happy result of permitting the able and loyal Chief of Baroda to reorganize his forces has been reported, no hitch may occur in perfecting that army still further and allowing other principal Chiefs to attend to their military strength in the same manner as His Highness the Gaekwar has been allowed, though under certain restrictions which may now be further and very aptly relaxed :—

"The most hopeless, and at the same time the most dangerous, body of all are the irregular infantry, who, according to Sir Richard Temple, number as many as all the rest put together. But any practical scheme would consider reduction in numbers as well as increase in efficiency. The Native Princes should be told very frankly that we have no intention of breaking any treaty rights or ignoring any promises, but that it would be well for them as for us that in the future they should have one well-drilled and well-equipped soldier instead of two armed ragamuffins as at present. This is the proper way to address them. The *Times* calls for reform on the grounds that the subjects of the Native States are overtaxed. But so long as the princes and their peoples are satisfied that is no concern of ours. No mere philanthropic pretext will carry weight for a moment or disguise our anxiety to get rid of a source of constant danger. It is a very different matter to tell the princes that as we may need their assistance against a common enemy, we have relaxed all the rules which have kept their soldier back in the same primitive condition as when we first came to India, and that in future they are to enjoy the privilege of having real and not sham armies. How the change is to be effected is beyond our province altogether. But the Gaekwar of Baroda has already thrown out a suggestion which may perhaps commend itself to the statesmen at Simla. He discovered that a large proportion of his revenue was being wasted upon a very inefficient army, and he applied to the Bombay Government for a military adviser. They sent him Major Meliss. In a short time a considerable proportion of the Baroda army has been entirely reorganized, and the increased efficiency has been accompanied with a great economy in expenditure. What has been quietly effected in Baroda could readily be effected elsewhere."—*26th July*, 1885.

The Native Press, and how the army question is viewed in high quarters.

We have always considered it desirable that those responsible for the well-being and security of India and for the conduct, happiness and dignity of Great Britain may express their views freely to us when we offer practical solutions of the vital problems in relation thereto. We shall not so much rely on our own experience and ability—however long tested they may be, and they are after all considerably disproportionate to the task we have had on hand for a quarter of a century—as on the opinion and sentiments of those who exercise or have exercised ultimate responsibilities. It is a privilege of great value to be acquainted with the results of their weighty experience; and to secure their approval is as gratifying as calculated, in a certain measure, to remove some of the difficulties in the way of bringing about an extensive and closer cordiality between India and her mother country. For the benefit of the Native Press of which we form a humble part, we may be permitted to quote a high authority on the question of what character of writings is held efficacious by those who gladly avail of our help:—"His Excellency the "Viceroy is a constant and attentive reader of the native press and is "always much pleased when he finds articles written with a thorough "knowledge of the subject and animated with a calm, enlightened and "judicial spirit." We have no doubt that though many of the native papers are not sufficiently represented in the more powerful section of the Indian Press—we refer to the Anglo-Indian—the indication above given from the highest quarter must well serve as compensation for disinterested labors and an unerring guide to those desirous of real progress in India. For a fuller statement of Lord Dufferin's views on the performance and functions of the native journals *generally*, we beg our readers attention to the letter directed by the Viceroy to be written to an up-country Press Association, and which is signed by His Excellency's very able and learned Private Secretary, Mr. Mackenzie Wallace. We cannot, however, do better than quote below the entire letter which should be permanently suspended in every native Editor's sanctum:—

"Sir,—I am directed by His Excellency the Viceroy to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your communication, forwarding the resolutions passed at a meeting of the Editors and Proprietors of the native newspapers of Lucknow on the 3rd of April 1885. The resolutions embody the determination of those concerned to discuss public matters in a moderate and judicial spirit, and to exclude from the organs they control all unverified rumo[illegible] reports.

In reply, I am to state that His Excellency recognises, with pleasure, the wise and patriotic spirit evinced on the occasion by the promoters of the meeting. Lord Dufferin is a sincere friend of the Native Press in India. He regards it as an institution essentially necessary to the well-being and progress of the nation, and as capable of rendering the greatest service both to the Government and the people. His Excellency is an attentive reader of the native journals, regarding them as the legitimate channels through which an independent native public opinion expresses the wants and wishes of the community at large. When we take into account the extent of this Peninsula, the variety of its races, languages and creeds, the complicated problems involved in its administration, and the diversity of interests with which the executive has to deal, it is evident that the energies of a ubiquitous, honest, and intelligent Press is one of the most powerful assistants the Government can possess to the proper conduct of public affairs. There is nothing, therefore, which his Excellency will always hail with great pleasure than the exhibition by the Native Press of India of that dignity, self-respect, sobriety of thought and expression, and accuracy of statement, which can alone enable it to give due weight and force to the views it advocates. The resolutions which you have just passed are a significant sign of the progress the Press of India is making in the right direction, and it is on this account that His Excellency has requested me to express in as earnest terms as I can command his appreciation of the high and worthy motives which have dictated them."

Every one in the Native Press has to understand that if we desire to render the Government more kindly and more serviceable to our numerous countrymen, we have no light responsibilities ourselves to conform to, before we could succeed in our efforts to enlighten either the government or its subject races better than hitherto. We cheerfully acknowledge the service which Lord Dufferin has done to the whole Native Press in India in advising it how to conduct itself in discharging its important functions. We desire, therefore, that the above document may form a permanent record in our country.

We may quote one more instance of our writings having attracted due attention:—

"I have long been of opinion that the time had arrived for doing something towards utilising to some extent for general purposes the Armed Forces maintained by Native Chiefs, and for regulating the strength and character of these forces. Some time ago a writer in the *Times* published a series of articles calculated to create distrust and alarm regarding these forces, and urging their reduction as a danger to the Empire. The circumstances of these State armies were put forward in a very exaggerated and incorrect form in these and other similar publications in India itself, and the effect was to cause a feeling of alarm which was not warranted by the facts.

"I am intimately acquainted with the State Forces generally, and it has been my duty to watch them and in some cases to control in a way their organization. I have always regarded the question of their strength and condition as one on which the Paramount Power OUGHT to have a voice; but I have never shared the view that they should be wiped out and abolished. On the contrary, I have always looked forward to the time when the whole question of these State armies would be brought under a clear and well-regulated system, by which a certain

portion of each such force would be constituted a part of the General Army of India, the requisite measures being taken to ensure its fitness to form a unit of that army.

"The Mutiny of 1857, of course, rendered anything of this sort impossible for a certain period from that date, but the time in my humble judgment has now arrived when this question should be taken up. The Great Chiefs of India were formed into a Grand Council of the Empire on 1st January 1877, and this was the first step towards giving them a voice and a real interest in the *Great Empire that has been built up in Hindustan.* Hitherto, little further has been done in this direction, but I trust that some real progress will now be made in utilizing this movement.

"I quite see the force of and agree in your remarks as to the danger of trusting *too much* to expressions of loyalty such as those referred to by you, but everything that is reasonable and proper should be done to encourage a spirit of recognition on the part of the Chiefs and people of India that their interests *as a nation* are bound up with England, and that, while they may have grounds of complaint against the Government on some or many points, they still look to it *as the only* protector and Head that can ultimately accomplish in India what that great country requires for the prosperity and welfare of its peoples.

"I can assure you that though, alas! there are many blots on the English administration of India, there is but one desire on the part of all right-minded Englishmen, viz., to do what is *just and right for India and its people. What is needed is calm thoughtfulness, with a full knowledge* of the facts, *to plan* and THEN consistent and wise action with *practical* measures suited to the end aimed at, and that will gradually build up the fabric all true friends of India desire to aid in erecting. Thoughtful writers like yourself are doing much to lead public opinion in the right direction with this object, and you have my most hearty good wishes in your efforts.

"Lord Randolph Churchill is likely to work great good to India if he remain in office. Till the latter point is assured, he cannot, of course, do much."

The Anglo-Indian statesman whom we have here quoted from a valuable communication he has sent us this week, deserves our respectful and careful attention. He is pleased to say that our writings which he has read "are of the highest importance to India and the British "Government; but, unhappily, the subject of them is one surrounded "with *practical* difficulties of the gravest character." We have tried to perceive these difficulties, and we are glad that our eminent friend has frankly enunciated his views how far possible it is to fortify the interests of the Indian Empire and to promote the substantial aspirations of the princes and the people,—not merely in their interests but in the interests of the British Government also. He makes a most valuable suggestion that the Grand Council of the Princes which was inaugurated in 1877 might now be fully utilized. The suggestion is identical with what we have recently solicited the Government to do, and we respectfully hope it may be attended to in season. Perhaps the Camp of Exercise to be held next cold weather may be availed of in inviting the principal Princes of India with their substantial ret[illegible] forces.

The Political Agents and the Governors may also be invited to this Grand Council. In past papers we have explained how possible it is to secure great practical results from this imperial conference. We do not think that any effective action could be taken unless this universal conference is called by the Viceroy, where the measures necessary for the full defences of India by the means of naval and military forces, and the advanced strain which each province and each native state could bear both for local and imperial safety should be candidly and thoroughly discussed with all the various authorities—whether British or Feudatory—who should thenceforth be animated by the Viceroy with this leading and predominant idea, that every British and Native authority should feel for himself and for the districts he represents what is the amount and character of fighting force that he is in duty bound to furnish for local and imperial wants, how is he to organise and render it efficient so that it may be everything for the purposes of unity, and barely anything for unpatriotic or mischievous purposes. The questions relating to combinations, distributions and proportions of the various elements of strength will entirely lie for disposal in the province of the Head Government, which will also command considerations in reference to the predominant imperial bulk of fighting strength to which every subordinate army will be subject. Questions of this character are most delicate and most difficult to handle with unreserved openness. It would, therefore, be highly desirable that the ground-work for ready and smooth action in such a Council should be previously prepared. The time is come when each principal section of the body politic in India should be made acquainted with its active obligations and brought to share in the task of protecting the empire as a whole. They should be influenced by the glorious part they have to bear in it, and induced to labor and sacrifice their resources in bringing about this end. We have already lost much precious time and far more valuable opportunities. We cannot afford to lose more, for a War may come upon India any time, and the terrible, but unquestioned, duty of securing Afghanistan for India may also face us any moment. The only question which should stir every Indian patriot deeply has been and is still most alarmingly neglected by them!—*23rd August, 1885.*

PART III.

INDIAN VICEROYS AND GOVERNORS.

Government in the Hills and the Plains.

A WARM discussion is now and then carried on in India on the subject of the principal administrators migrating to the cool hills whenever feeling uncomfortable in the low-lying plains of India. This is not the first time when objections have been started against the exodus of Viceroys, Governors, Members of Councils and other dignitaries to Simla, Ootacamund, Matheran, or Mahableshwur. Though the objections have been often started, no practical result seems to have followed. The distinguished personages have continued to enjoy the time-honoured salubrious and glorious sanitariums without being much affected by the blunt, unsympathetic arguments dashed over their well-composed heads from the sweltering plains below.

There are the theoretical and practical sides of the question, which have to be dealt with in disposing of the controversy. First take the theoretical. Any public servant—be he the Viceroy himself or any less important functionary—spoils his work, misunderstands his lieutenants, and lessens his interests and sympathies in matters affecting the people if he spends his service time far away from the localities in his charge. If his Lordship or his Honour has any right to enrol himself high up in the clouds, that right is admissible when he is very ill or finds himself depressed in spirits after much hard work. He has no right to find England in India in nine months or even four months in the year, when it is hot and miserable Indian plains, and not their delightful snow-peaked mountains, which he is bound to serve. There is some truth in this contention, but it is not free of some easy-going theory—democratic, or radical.

The other side of the question says that the highest British administrators have the hardest mental and moral work to do. The low-lying localities are directly watched by competent local officials. Their superiors have only to look into their business f[illegible] point.

The superior minds should not be enervated by heat, bad climate, and low, confounding associations of indifferent men and things. The Viceroys and Governors are generally those who have not been acclimatized below; their lives and health must be free of risks. The most careful and noblest expressions of policy are generated in the congenial climate of the hills, and not in the malaria and sickly heat of the lands below. This sort of plea is made up of truth, imagination, sentiment, theory, and is somewhat devoid of practical insight and sagacity.

Amidst the perplexities which this question creates one thing is certain, and that is, there would be no valid objection to a resort to the hills for two or three trying months in a year by the first-class dignitaries. The lesser ones cannot afford to go except when badly ill, or any salubrious locality is not near enough the scenes of their duty. A retreat to cooler regions is more permissible to European than to Native officials, the indulgence being regulated as above, and also dependent on the extent of furloughs enjoyed by the former. What adds to the moral and material vigour of European administrators, or really lessens their weariness and depressed sense of monotony in reference to their duties, is a clear gain to the public service. But who can deny that this generous feeling of expediency may be carried a little too far so that a belief in the necessity for extending retirements in distant hills may easily be multiplied. Especially as the European element in the Indian administration predominates, the custom of migration, when becoming unmanageable, should be held in check.

In all matters of close administration, its direction from distant hills is decidedly objectionable. A Viceroy or a Governor who has made himself personally acquainted with every district under him by close and prolonged observations can very well sketch out the condition of his kingdom, or elaborate an administrative measure on paper on the top of a charming hill, or in the bosom of a lovely valley, where the best of moral and mental faculties rise as by a touch of magic. But it is unfortunate that problems in relation to communal, national, or sectional interests often turn up which no mere sentimental fountains, however deep and pure, are capable of solving. The mere possession of mature powers of thought and feeling and perfect principles of conduct and measures is not enough for conducting the administration of a large and complicated country. The successful administrator is often a person as nimble and worn as the

cargo barque capable of traversing her own prescribed oceanic channel as many times as its business may require. In like manner a restless ruler is more a plunge-taker into any and every part of his lively dominions to acquire a searching knowledge of struggling men and things, than a frequent climber of mute Nature's glorious hills. As he cannot devise too many good measures, his bent will be to personally ascertain the feelings and wishes of the people affected by those measures, and not to move out of the centres where he can himself know them best. It is the constant moving among the various communities, and oft recurring inquiries into their condition and wants that serve to develop an administration, which is the end pursued by a thoroughly active and conscientious Governor. To him, therefore, a constant or prolonged migration to the hills is an intolerable nuisance. The normal condition of India, rather excepting that condition sectionally excited on a threadbare subject, undoubtedly demand that the governors of the country should pretty constantly move in the midst of their subjects, becoming cognizant of every popular condition and feeling, whether changing or stagnant, and frequently investigating public resources with a view to promote the amelioration of the people, whether this be possible in the beaten paths or quite outside them. It is by an administration conducted on the spot, and not from a distance, that a stronger hold can be kept on the working of the administrative details. The five years' tenure of office of a Governor or Viceroy we deem to be so short that it is one cause why frequent resorts to the hills become a necessity. A longer term will serve to bring about a better settlement of health to cope with the hard conditions of European life on the plains, while the action of European administration will be of a more abiding interest. It is at first sight singular that an indulgence allowed in the case of the highest functionary on the land, while not unfrequently resulting in the broadest benefits to the country, should, in the case of third-rate functionaries, when overstepped, end in a morbid flatulency of official action degenerating the concerned departments altogether. And yet it is the one unperceived evil blot on the administration that we have here hit.

We have only time to say that the official exodus to the hills, like many other public questions, can only be effectually regulated by constitutional progress and an efficacious division of work and responsibility as attached to the imperial exigencies of the country. The journalistic denunciations

are mere scratches over the thick crust of the time-honoured institution of flying away to the bracing hills at the first sign of official languor or inaptitude.—*6th July*, 1884.

Lord Ripon's Indian career.

The phases of Indian history have taken to as constant a change as marked in the history of Great Britain itself. It is enough if a Viceroy goes out and a new Viceroy comes in: a new page is then added to the history of the country. It cannot be maintained, as the London "Thunderer" said the other day, that our country has no history. It has a history, and a capricious history too. When a new Viceroy is reported to come out to India, he must either be the best or the worst man that can govern a large continent. As he takes time and goes on exercising his Viceroyalty, he is either a hypocrite, useless and mischievous statesman, or the very incarnation of the highest virtues of an administrator. He is either to be hooted out of India, or his name enshrined in golden statues. The whole continent may fall at his feet as soon as he places his steps on the Indian shores. The next year after that, our ears may either ring with onslaughts of rank abuses, or a deafening charms of hallelujahs. He has thrust back progress one full century, or has transported it through the future vista of a full hundred years. He has converted the nation into a mass of rebels, or has elevated them to be a happy and free nation. He is either the emancipator of the poor, or the despoiler of the nobility. He has either strengthened the finances, or ruined them. He is either a moral and educational benefactor, or a trumpery sentimentalist blowing out mere smoke. He is moved by territorial greed; if not, he is only a foolish upholder of the rights of savage nations. He must either be a misanthrope, or a too pleasant man of the society. If he is not too yielding, he can only be too perverse. He can only be too sympathetic, or too unimpressionable. If he is not the Angel of Bliss to the country, he is only a Demon of Destruction. He is all-in-all, if not a noodle.

We need not pursue further such singularities of Indian public opinion. We are immensely amused at their appearance whenever a Viceroy comes and goes. Here is some history and some public opinion for the country—in spite of the *Times*—and what is more, both seem very capricious for the moment.

We are not going to fall and we have never fallen into any of the traps of public opinion. Between the conflicting traps we can percei what things should be, and have been in the past. There is no plac national organ in India unaffected by party spirit. What such an orga would say of the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon on the eve of his departur from India is likely to be different from what any of the journals of the country have to say. All classes of journals have begun to speak out about the doings of Lord Ripon as Viceroy. Each class no doubt does its best to express the popular opinion. There is, however, not one journal in India which singly can create a perfectly true public opinion. We can only gather from various journals disjointed bits of truth, and make one whole approximate truth. It is not likely, therefore, that the public, in the present instance, will be guided by the utterances of any one or two journals.

The impartial historian of the future will say of the present Viceroy of India that he tried to do his duty, and did it well enough. No Indian Viceroy is expected to reap the fruits of his actions while ruling the country. At best he can only securely lay the seeds of good measures, which take a long time to fructify. The present exigencies of the empire will not permit any Viceroy to mature his policies and to personally watch their being carried through. Before he is able to see any of his large measures taken root, he has to bid adieu to the country. Like an apparition in the skies, a good and vigorous Viceroy like Lord Ripon appears and vanishes. We are therefore called upon to judge him not as an eternal being in India, but a very flitty one indeed. You cannot compress a fifty years' achievement, its approbation or condemnation, into a five years' tenure of office. Many of our contemporaries express either too much of hate, or too much of praise, for the going ruler. According to the time and opportunities at his disposal the Marquis has gone through the right course of business as admirably and as nergetically as he could. Outsiders are not expected to know what mount of dreary routine work a Viceroy, above all others, has rpetually to go through. He is only visible to us by his large measures. s Excellency has displayed a broad and sympathetic heart, because he r felt that it was the good Queen's desire that he should not rule a for any particular party, but for the good of its teeming millions. He the disagreeable duty to tell an exalted personage that the Queen's

Indian Empire was based on righteousness. It is painful that one responsible functionary should have to say this to another, and set aside an imperfect attitude in the matter of a State policy. He showed a statesmanlike flexibility as soon as he perceived that in conceding a just measure to a section of the Indians he would cause a lasting heart-burning to the Anglo-Indians. The reproach that the non-official Europeans have hurled against his Lordship in respect of the Ilbert Bill will, we are certain, be disallowed by the future historian for the simple reason that Native Civilians deservedly required this minor equality with their European confreres, while Lord Ripon and the Government of India never anticipated before the measure was brought on that the Anglo-Indians would be so much offended. The Viceroy will be unmistakeably pronounced as being uncharitably dealt with, while he was timely and honestly prepared to modify the measure to suit the feelings of both Natives and Europeans. He stood the storm so well as to have proved his capacity to pilot the State ship safely through greater storms. In no past periods were educational matters so thoroughly sifted as has been under the able direction of Lord Ripon. The foundation work for a highly progressive educational policy has been laid, and we have no doubt that the edifice on that foundation will be started during the next Viceroyalty. An entirely new shape has been given to the administrative policy by countenancing the purchase of indigenous stores, by the reduction of duty on salt, by the wise policy of railway extensions, and by resuming railway operations beyond Quetta in reference to strengthening the Afghan frontiers against the insiduous encroachments of Russia. He has shown the ability of repairing the mistake unavoidably committed during the change of the Ministry. The most complex question between the Bengal Zemindars and their tenants has been firmly handled at least for being fairly comprehended. The information that its discussion has produced will be invaluable in the interests of a careful and improved administration. It cannot be expected at this stage that a faultless Act can be constructed able to command the assent of all the parties involved. A proper basis has been laid for strengthening and popularizing the municipal and local funds' government throughout India. The leading people have been well invited to feel what fair share they could take in that part of the government if they have acquired the ability of so acting. We need not enumerate his measures of reform and development further, as it is not our

object here to describe his full career in India. We need only dwell
on some of its prominent points with a view to see if the country
warranted to place him in the ranks of the benefactors of the coun
We should think that India will honour herself by treasuring the name
Lord Ripon among those eminent statesmen who are always remembere
We can only judge the broad landmarks of his policy. India stands in gre
need of being handled by many a successive statesmen of the type of th
Marquis of Ripon. The Anglo-Indians will have no cause to be ashamed
if they were to generously join the leading natives in paying him the
parting tribute. They feel prejudiced towards him, but the prejudice is
such as would have disappeared if the Viceroy had another five years to
spend in the country. His incumbency has been too short to allow him
to set himself right with all classes of the immense Indian population. It
is the shortness of his tenure in India that has been at fault than any part
of his character, which has been found perfectly capable of dealing with
every variety of human nature. We may feel sure that had His Excellency
but remained a few more years in India he would have conciliated the
Anglo-Indians, while remaining a friend of the natives greater than ever.
The confusion caused against him was too ephemeral. The public of
India will therefore not look so much to the mass of his achievements
brought into light as to the difficulties his Lordship encountered in
attempting those achievements, and the sterling qualities he displayed in
raising the country in the world's estimation. No Province in India
ought to fail in honouring this great, high minded, unselfish and benevolent
statesman, and perpetuating his name in India as a worthy example to be
followed by his successors—*12th October*, 1884.

INDIA—the educated and aristocratic India—once more undergoes the
Viceroys in Transit. agreeable conventional form of bidding farewell to its
retiring Ruler and devising measures of welcome for
his successor. We cannot but warmly welcome the efforts made by Native
India to hold ovations for the departing Viceroy and finding means for
he perpetuation of his name. Our feelings of welcome are not due to
ny presumption that any one statesman could, in his short Indian term,
hieve the lasting security, or the lasting prosperity of India, but because
t end being impracticable, the Marquis of Ripon has shown sufficient
t and strength in ruling India so as to produc tentme ajorit

an organization incapable of being tampered with or giving way during an unforeseen contingency. This is the question which should have the prime attention of deputations going to welcome the new Viceroy. There was a time many years past when our awakening to the fact of the fundamental dangers to the Empire and of the primitive and disorganized state of its military constitution could not have been more than the awakening of a deeply slumbering camp, first perceiving the approach of the dawn fraught with good or evil. *That time is now past. There is no need to be* alarmed, but there is every need—the strongest need—to recognize and increase the military resources of the Empire.

The Liberal Ministry of England is strong and may not perhaps be expected to fall out with Russia by the means of their liberal professions. But it is not Liberals who would permanently rule India. Nor can the wisest prophet say that no materials exist for a future rupture between England and Russia. Nor can any one have the hardihood to deny that Russia is closing upon Herat, and that her onward movement is being constantly backed by increased forces.

We have been contending since many years, and have even taken special steps, pointing out the inadequacy of the British forces for emergent purposes, and the awfully mistaken notion of not permitting Native States to render their armies efficient. It may be politically desirable not to impose such taxes as the income tax upon the people for a while, but it is a political blunder of the gravest sort to neglect the warlike material of Native States, while we cannot boast of a military strength equalling even a third-rate power in Europe. No one can be more solicitous than ourselves to see that the Suzerain Power, in a delicate question of this sort, assumes no aggressive interference, and that the ancient Native States do not suffer in position and integrity for the reason of their becoming the means of better strengthening the Empire. We have elaborately explained the measures by which their just pride, reasonable ambition and vested interests may be satisfied, while they are gradually and securely turned to directly impart their military strength to the Empire. No injury can be done to any Native State in a pecuniary way, which already may be paying sufficient tribute to the Power that holds the country. No Native State, already unavoidably burdened, can be further taxed. Any State which, in point of external obligations, enjoys a marked immunity may well bear its own portion in a way that may be universally approved.

nesslike capacity to see through the forbidding difficulties of a delicate, as well as the most trying and complex question. It is one of the superb jewels of the highest moral and intellectual gifts of the supreme nation of the world which the present Venus of the Political Firmament of England has decided upon sending us; and we may rest assured that he will not injure native India, but employ his powers in heightening the glories which he will silently receive from the hands of Lord Ripon. The Land that sent us a Mayo, a Lawrence, and a Montgomery, also sends a Dufferin.

The aims of the British in India are daily rendered higher. Those *interested in the country* cannot fritter away precious moments in passing mere complimentary expressions to new arrivals; nor can they well subordinate public attention to points which must sink into insignificance compared to the serious question of the internal peace of the country and the external dangers to which it is besetted. The question we have brought forward ought to be discussed at once, and should have the keenest attention paid to it in the welcome address at Bombay. It is imperatively necessary to inform the new Viceroy, with every deference, that the appearances put up by Russia can never be trusted; that it is unknown what complications in Europe and Asia may bring about *for* India; and that its best safety lies in a prompt, skilful and harmonious manipulation *of all its fighting forces*, which must be brought up to a *point of efficiency* and sufficiency *without losing a moment.*—*16th November*, 1884.

Earl of Dufferin at Belfast.

A NEW Dictator of an august and benevolent type is coming out to India, and *half* the world is anxious to know what he thinks and says in reference to his new charge. There is no other empire in the world which, when it sends out a new Pro-Consul to a distant dependency, excites so great an attention of endless multitudes, more especially of the civilized world, as Great Britain does. Earl Dufferin, the incoming Viceroy, is so nervous as to his being at all *spoken* about when he would be working as our Governor-General that, in *his impressive* speech at Belfast, he feelingly said:—"So convinced am I "indeed, of the truth of what I say, that I imagine the greatest success and "triumph I can obtain is that from the time that I depart from these shores "and wave a grateful response to the farewell you are saying to me to-"night, even the echo of my name may never be wafted to your ears until

"at the end of my official term I stand again amongst you, having won from "the historian of the day no higher encomium or recognition than that my "administration was uneventful, but that I had kept the empire entrusted "to my guardianship tranquil and secure." We need not wonder at this touching piece of self-abnegation. It ought to tell with great effect on the non-official Anglo-Indians who attempted a little too much against the departing Viceroy. It ought also to teach the natives of India—we mean the inflammatory portion of them—how undesirable it is to bring on any strained relations between the Government and the Anglo-Indians, or between the latter and the natives of the country.

The utterance quoted is, however, a maiden effort so far as the Earl's cares for the Indian administration are concerned. His Lordship will find in a year or two—if not even in a less period—that every capricious breeze which sways the Indian atmosphere will waft his name and sentiments and action high up to the ears allwhere even though they may refuse to hear them. The anomaly of an Indian Viceroyalty, which we have perceived many years since, render the condition, rigidly but sympathetically put down by our future Viceroy, singularly inoperative. Earl Dufferin has marvellously concealed his inner intention—a truly worthy one—to dispose his countrymen in India to show patience and magnanimity on all questions pertaining to his charge, when these are likely to tax his highest qualities. The utterance strikes us as singularly appropriate as having taken place in a region which has given the Earl a greeting so sincere and so deeply enthusiastic which a mother or a father alone can give to an only precious and beloved child. "How badly we want you "for the difficulties of our own home, but in a distant land, where you are "now wanted most, you carry our fervent prayers for a renewed brilliant "success which you have hitherto commanded, and that in the most trying "periods of the exalted office you have held for a quarter of a century." Perhaps the following is the tenderest passage in the speech of the Earl delivered in response to the hearty wishes expressed to him in the Ulster Hall :—

"Least of all, how can I forget that memorable night when, on the eve of my departure for Canada, this splendid chamber was filled with friends who had assembled together to bid me God-speed, and to assure me that, in the opinion of those who had known me best and longest the honour then conferred upon me by her Majesty was not considered misplaced nor undeserved? The fact that I am again standing before you in analogous circumstances authorises me to

entertain the pleasing conviction that none of you regret the pledge you then gave for my good behaviour, or consider that I have done disgrace to your imprimatur. (Cheers.) That occasion ushered in the brightest and happiest period of my life—a period passed in one of the fairest regions within the confines of the empire, amongst a people animated by the most generous instincts, endowed with all the noblest gifts and qualities which distinguish the British race, and to whom I owe a debt of gratitude and affection, whose welcome burden I shall carry to the grave. Since that auspicious celebration twelve years have passed, during which in different capacities I have done my best to render faithful and loyal service to my Queen and country—(cheers)—and now again that I am about to proceed to a distant land, to undertake a task more arduous, more responsible, and, I may add, more honorable, than any which has ever been imposed upon me, can it be wondered at if, like the hero of old who was invincible so long as he was in contact with his mother earth, I come back here amongst you to gather fresh strength and vigour and renew my youth, by once more looking around on your familiar faces, by listening to your genial words of welcome and encouragement, by taking a farewell grasp of your thousand friendly hands? (Cheers.) It is true that the powers of Antæus faded into impotence as soon as his enemy lifted him from the ground, but I feel that, no matter how high the sphere to which I may be elevated, the fortifying influences with which I am surrounded to-night will follow me wherever I go, and in the darkest moments of lassitude and depression the recollection of this glorious scene will restore my faltering spirits, and make me more than equal to dealing with any emergency which may occur."

A few youthful writers now existing in this country may take heed of the tribute which a thorough-bred Irishman like Earl Dufferin has paid to the British race, to whom we may have faults to point out, but whom we cannot calumniate in foul language without casting a deep odium on ourselves. Earl Dufferin truly said that he owed the British people "a debt "of gratitude and affection whose welcome burden he shall carry to the "grave." It is by legitimate and submissive high service that he has won the esteem of the British nation, and not by, in the remotest degree, following the unfortunate proclivities of his less gifted countrymen which can only bring on disasters to those who sympathize with them.

The noble speaker touched the true chord of Indian difficulties when he said that a Viceroy in India could hardly choose between what was absolutely good and what was absolutely bad. He has often to decide on a delicate comparison of advantage and disadvantage upon either side, such as would render it very difficult for even those who have every opportunity of acquainting themselves with the elements of the case to discriminate between them. In this situation a Viceroy, who affirms of himself that neither amongst those who have lived and laboured and who have disappeared from the scene, nor amongst those who are still working for the good of England and of India, will any have set forth more determined to walk

fearlessly and faithfully in the unpretending paths of duty, is particularly liable to be misjudged, and his success or failure very wrongly estimated even by those fully cognizant of the intricacies of a question, but who yet cannot feel the arduous responsibilities of an Indian Viceroy. When an unexpected storm of feeling broke out Lord Ripon tried to follow the line of policy which his successor so shrewdly delineates. Every difficult duty of a Viceroy will be fraught with portentous consequences; and the more such duty is unpretending the more likely will it now and then draw upon the deeper emotions of mankind. No Viceroy can go on in for the least compromising course of business without being rudely awakened to the startling changes of which, however silent, he may endeavour to be the cause. For everything in this direction touches the interests of the millions and the conscience and safety of the Imperial Power, "to whom Pro- "vidence has entrusted the superintendence of their destinies." An absolute Viceroy no doubt deserves the highest confidence of those who are watching the drama from a distance; and very often has he to pass over condemnations and criticisms affecting his policy and character as so much temporary "flaws of fleeting public opinion." Nor can he much seriously mind the "puffs" of public opinion. What we recently stated as to the insane tendency of the general public either to denounce or praise a Viceroy, in unmeasured terms, is fully borne out in the following pregnant passage:—

"Above all, let me remind you, my lords and gentlemen, that when dealing with such vast subjects as those which occupy the statesmen of Calcutta; when handling the tremendous forces which are evolved out of the complicated and multitudinous political systems which exist within the borders of the Indian peninsula; when endeavouring to mould by slow and cautious efforts the most ancient, the most continuous and the most artificially organised civilization to be found on the face of the earth into forms that shall eventually harmonise more and more with those conceptions which the progress of science and the result of experience have shown to be conducive to human happiness, the result of the ruler's exertions and the flower of his achievements are seldom perceptible at the moment, but far more frequently bring forth their fruit long after those that tilled the field and sowed the seed have rested from their unrecognised and sometimes depreciated labours."

The Earl has correctly felt that the time is past when England would be compelled to send out men for heroic achievements, for upsetting empires and revolutionizing the basis of society :—

"Their successors must be content with the less ambitious and more homely, but equally important and beneficent, work of justifying the splendid achievements of those who have gone before them, by the careful and painstaking elaboration of such economical, educational, judicial

and social arrangements as shall bring happiness, peace, contentment, and security alike to the cabin doors of the humble ryot, to the mansions of the loyal Zemindar and enterprising European settler, and to the palace gates of Her Majesty's honoured allies and princely feudatories."

We trust that the ideal here presented will be steadily kept in view, as no doubt it will be, while the new Viceroy passes through the bewildering trials of his great office. Sufficient material has been collected to see how the ryot as well as the Zemindar, the European settler and the Indian prince, can be placed in a position from which they may endeavour to reap equal contentment and prosperity. The Earl will have some share in putting a greater emphasis on the gradual fulfilment of this ideal. He has apparently attached remarkable weight to the pacific assurances of his personal friend, the Russian Foreign Minister, who is most anxious to secure lasting peace with England in Central Asia and a frontier that cannot be violated. If we had not read somewhere else of his having said that even with this assurance we ought mainly to depend on our own valour and vigilance, we should be induced to suspect that the Earl may occasionally be susceptible of a slight credulity. It is on a thorough reform and augmentation of the indigenous and imperial forces, effected as much as possible on existing basis of matters, whether in Native or British India, that our permanent security will depend. Place the highest trust in Native Princes and in Native Nobility as well as commoners, while being careful in avoiding odious taxation; and a good deal of the Indian Dangers must vanish in thin air. We hope it may fall to the lot of Earl Dufferin to give that repose to the continent which can never be secured unless its military or material strength is developed on a comprehensive basis. If he is able to achieve this work satisfactorily he will have won half the sincere credit that he may expect for his work in India. We perceive the Earl has already acquired a deep sense of the multiplying and complicated wants of the country arising from the spread of education, the extension of railways, and the congestion of populations. While naming those whom he would most cherish for their rare qualifications and brilliant achievements, he paid a most deserving and eloquent tribute to the Civil Servants as a body, which ought to give one enduring satisfaction in perusing, and which we shall therefore quote with renewed pleasure :—

"But, after all, gentlemen, there are but the fortunate few whom accident and happy chance, seconding their inherent merits and native genius, have made known to the world. Behind and beyond these there are hundreds and hundreds of other noble and high-minded officials,

unknown and unrewarded, who, in the solitude of their several districts, burdened with enormous responsibilities, compelled to sacrifice almost everything that renders human life delightful, are faithfully expending their existence for their Queen, for their country, and for those committed to their charge, with nothing but their conscience to sustain them, reinforced by the conviction which is inherent in every Briton's breast, that the sense of having done one's duty is better than name or fame, imperial honours, or popular approbation. (Loud cheers.) It is to join these men that I go, and though I dare say there may be many amongst them superior to myself in ability, as they all must be in experience, one thing I can promise you, that neither amongst those who have lived and laboured, and who have disappeared from the scene, nor amongst those who are still working for the good of England and of India, will any have set forth more determined to walk fearlessly and faithfully in the unpretending paths of duty."

It is impossible to do justice to such a difficult piece of oration as Earl Dufferin's at Belfast was, in the course of one article and with the few moments of leisure at our disposal. It is at once so heart-stirring—such master-piece of eloquent genius, and the outcome of the highest scholarly attainments, a perfectly well-cultured mind, a profound and tried statesmanship, and a warm, generous and all-embracing temperament.—*30th November*, 1884.

The Town Hall Meeting at Bombay.

WHILE observing all that is now going on in various parts of India to proclaim trumpet-tongued the sincere loyalty and affection which Lord Ripon has won from the leaders of the native races of India, we feel as if we were in a happy home ringing with the joys and clamours of its inmates, more of children than elders. The lot of the paterfamilias commanding a large and cheery number of growing children is indeed enviable. As such the true patriot of the country, in whose heart there is space both for the native prince and the Empress, will see *something to foster in this state of things.* The Anglo-Indian community will gradually perceive this as something infinitely better than the angry and violent screamings of the excitable portion of the writers in the Native Press. It is much more pleasant to put up with the spontaneous joyous fun and cries of innocent loving children than with the results of severity breeding sulks and desperation in them. The steadiest and most moderate opponent of the Ilbert measure, whom we all ought to listen with patience for our own sakes if nothing more, now truly says while observing on the speeches made last week in the Bombay Town Hall :—"There was nothing to provoke criticism, and indeed the "time for criticism would be singularly ill-chosen. In the hour of battle

"the troops ranged under different banners must fight for what they hold "the right as vigorously as they can. But now on the eve of Lord Ripon's "departure his many amiable qualities are those that should be kept more "prominently in view." But there has been something practical in Lord Ripon which kept his amiability within moderate bounds; and that was his earnestness in showing that he meant good to India, not merely with soothing lip-professions, but what may be meant by a straightforward practical action. The sectional excitements were an inevitable misfortune which, though they followed Lord Ripon's policy, were not the forecasted creation of that policy.

As the wisest of the opponents of Lord Ripon look upon the Indian demonstrations as "a monument of Indian gratitude to English good will," which, accordingl to such sensible writers, will appear in prominence "when all the arguments and wranglings of yesterday and to-day are forgotten," we may be permitted to notice the recent proceedings in the Bombay Town Hall with deserved gratification and perfect composure. For, happily, there has not been the slightest attempt to raise counter-demonstrations, which should have taken place had the Anglo-Indians been still influenced by the hostile views which prevailed only a year ago.

The Town Hall assemblage seem to have moved the great city of Bombay. The Sheriff admitted the necessity for the meeting, though the European community were absent. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the Chairman, rightly anticipated that Lord Ripon may count upon the appreciation of the Queen and the people of England for the good he has done to India. In his opinion the retiring Viceroy has initiated a policy by which the permanent affection of the people to the British nation will be secured and both India and England benefitted. While closing his speech the worthy Parsee Baronet said :—"I wish Lord Ripon could be here this afternoon to "witness for himself this enthusiasm. I wish that the great statesmen who "sent Lord Ripon to us could hear us to-day echo the words in which "Mr. Gladstone told the Commons of England that Lord Ripon was "writing (to-day, we say, has written) his name on the hearts of the people "of India."

The Hon'ble Mr. Budrudin Tyebji dipped into the remotest future with the brightest wings lent from the pure armour of the now fast closing Viceroyalty of the past four and a half years. "He ruled India exclusively for the benefit of its people." If he stayed in his

Lordship would not find derogatory to his high functions to look also to the interests of the ruling race, which, even in his short stay, he farseeingly did. The honourable gentleman hoped that the consistent pursuit of his Lordship's policy will ultimately lead to "the fusion of India into one great and united empire, indissolubly binding the interests of Her Majesty's European Dominions with those in Asia." The doctrine that the present writer was the first to preach is now being taken by the public in precisely the same form as it should assume. Another valuable sentiment comes from him with a special grace, as the speaker is a thorough-bred Mahomedan gentleman:—"It mattered not to us that our "gracious sovereign happened to be a native of Great Britain any more "than it mattered to our ancestors that the great and wise Akber, the "magnificent Shah Jehan, or the powerful Aurangzeb were descendants "of Mogul conquerors from Central Asia." Neither the Hindu, the Mahomedan, or the Parsi need be ashamed to reflect fully on this sentiment with a view to adopt it as his own.

Mr. P. M. Mehta made out a very good case showing how opposed to the British genius was the rigid and unsympathetic feelings of the Anglo-Indian opponents of Lord Ripon. He held that the best of the past statesmen who conquered and consolidated the Indian Empire acted on the notion that the British mission was only to prepare India for self-government, and then abandon it to its thousand and one races. "Perceiving that the people tasting the indulgence of the paternal rule, are trying to move too fast and become too troublesome, the Civil Servants, yielding to this impression, have almost invariably lost their old grasp of principle in the multitude of details they have to deal with ; and though rising step by step they sit in the highest councils of the State, and may deceive themselves into the belief that they possess their old cunning of statesmanship, the fact is that they have lost it almost altogether * * Gentlemen, there never was a more anxious and critical period in the history of British rule in India than when Lord Lytton resigned. He left the country in a state of doubt and perplexity, of alarm and uneasiness. At this juncture Lord Ripon assumed the reins of office ; and fortunately for India, in him we get back the true old English statesman, wise in his noble generosity and far-sighted in his righteousness. It is no exaggeration to say that he has saved the country from grave disasters." That Lord Ripon has proved a sympathetic, generous and circumspect

statesman as worthy of the present times as the most famous conquerors and generals were in past times when the country was conquered, we have often and often pointed out. The best of natives will admit this without adopting all the acrid views of Mr. Mehta. He has launched himself on a too general and unwieldy domain, and his extreme eloquence and passionate denunciation of everything that does not exactly fit in with the doctrine that the English should make every possible haste in educating India and then post-haste leave it to its own fate are perhaps a little too general for unfaltering acceptance. After all there are such things as practical difficulties in the world which, neither in respect of foes or friends, we should take much too lightly. Intolerance is the one thing which Indian nations must learn to avoid to be able to command self-governing powers. Mr. Mehta very truly observed that "through the passing uproar, one assurance for the natives of India has come out clear and strong, that the English nation will never consent to upset the great principles of justice and equity on which the declared policy of the Crown for the Government of India is based * * * And I am sure it will come to pass that it will be acknowledged that he has done as great service by his steadfast policy of righteousness, which has been derided as weak sentiment, as even Lord Canning did, as is now admitted, by his firm policy of justice, which was then derided as clemency." (Loud cheers.) Here is all what is good and correct. The success of the truest orator is found while boiling down his oration that no exuberance of feeling or temper is left.

Mr. Dadabhai Nowrosji laid stress on the fact that not only has Lord Ripon frankly acknowledged that the country is suffering under material as well as educational poverty, but that he earnestly set about devising large and memorable measures for its mitigation. While declaring how princes and people alike came forward with handsome subscriptions to raise a memorial to His Lordship, Mr. Dadabhai said :—

We are to propose a memorial to Lord Ripon. But what will hundred such memorials be to the great monuments he has himself raised to himself? As self-government and self-administration and education advanced, for which all he has raised great new landmarks, his memory shall exist at every moment of India's life, and they will be the everlasting monuments, before which all our memorials will sink into utter insignificance. It was asked in St. Paul where Wren's monument was. This, St. Paul itself, was his monument, was the reply. What is Ripon's monument? It will be answered India itself—a self-governing and prosperous nation and loyal to the British throne. Canning was Pandy Canning, he is now the Canning the Just, of the

British historian. The native historian, with admiration and gratitude, and the English historian, with pride and pleasure, will point to Ripon, as Ripon the Righteous, the maker and benefactor of a nation of hundreds of millions. (Loud cheers.) But by far the greatest service that Ripon has done is to England and Englishmen. He has raised the name and glory of England and the Englishmen, and rivetted India's loyalty to the British rule.

The extent of good work done by Lord Ripon in India must necessarily appear small looking to the period of his office, and therefore less striking than the powerful motive His Lordship has sought to establish for the steady and smooth continuation of his high-minded policy.

The Hon'ble Mr. K. T. Telang made both a mild and eloquent speech, smooth flowing as the placid flow of a stream. While the Hon'ble Mr. Mundlik rejoiced that the hearts of all educated India beat as if with a telegraphic response to the public call of honoring Lord Ripon on the occasion of his departure, the Hon'ble Mr. Telang showed how even those who formed *the permanent opposition* to Her Majesty's Government in India now join the admirers of Lord Ripon. We only hope they may do this as a body and in a calm spirit unaffected by past bitterness. The concluding passage of Mr. Telang's moderate speech may be here quoted with advantage:—

Whether we look at the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, or the resolution for making public the aims and scope of Government measures, or the practice of inviting people's opinions on contemplated projects; or whether we look to the great scheme of local self-government, or the manner, for that is most important, in which the late Mr. Kristodas Pal—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—was appointed to the Supreme Legislative Council, we see clearly the liberal policy of Lord Ripon's Government. Gentlemen, many of you will doubtless remember the noble lines in which the successor "of him that uttered nothing base" has embodied the anticipated sentiments of after generations on the reign of Queen Victoria. "And statesmen," the Laureate sings,

"And statesmen at her council met,
  Who knew the seasons when to take
Occasion by the hand and make
  The bounds of freedom wider yet,
By shaping some august decree
  That left her throne unshaken still
Broad-based upon the people's will
  And compassed by the inviolate sea."

(Cheers.) Yes, gentlemen, Lord Ripon has made the bonds of freedom wider by shaping divers august decrees, which have not only left Queen Victoria's throne unshaken in this land, but has made it even more broad-based upon the people's will.

The speech of Mr. Jhawarilal Umiashunker Yajnik must serve to point out the absence in most of the speeches delivered a temperate discussion of the many questions handled by Lord Ripon and more or less disposed of

by His Lordship. His departure from India is just the occasion when an enthusiastic tribute of admiration should be offered him by the public. It is a mistake, however, that a dozen weighty speakers should be seduced by the legitimate cravings of eulogizing a beloved Statesman and Ruler, and altogether forget to calmly examine the merits of his measures, pointing out the various stages of their progress, or the caution, energy, and integrity needed in their pursuance by his illustrious successor. The management of a complex and anxious administration like that of India must always be sorely in need of something more than a simple appreciation of liberal measures in its behalf. The action of the wisest and the noblest serves to reveal unforeseen difficulties, the discussion and solution of which then become due. We must forget that we can ever expect smooth sailing in our expectations and ventures in the domain of patriotic politics. They are often complicated with opposite factors, which have to be taken into account and reconciled before any wholesome fruit can be gathered. We must learn to accept the time when all antagonistic parties should meet on one platform and discuss public matters without being betrayed into partizanship. Sir Jamsetji, in his opening address, stated that the speakers who would succeed him were to enter into the details as to how Lord Ripon discharged his stewardship. But, excepting Mr. Jhawarilal, every speaker seems to have avoided handling any of the large public questions on which His Lordship has left a mark. Each of the speakers might have chosen a question for himself, and dealt with it in a full, vigorous and conciliatory spirit, while one of them only might have struck the general chord on which, on the occasion under note, all the Town Hall speakers, except one, seem to have harped in such pleasing exuberance of spirits. The tone of this distinguished meeting, however otherwise encouraging and commendable, was also a seconder to the cold feelings of our worthy Anglo-India, who kept away from such demonstrations. They might well say—we were not wrong in keeping away, for you see how intensely native the meeting was.

As above stated, Mr. Jhawarilal made his speech specific by dealing with some thoroughness on one of the difficult problems of Lord Ripon's administration. He showed how his name will be associated with the reform endeavored to be effected in the condition of the peasants. These number more than fifty per cent. of the Indian population, and if their unrest was really due to the periodic revaluations of their [illegible], the land reforms of Lord Ripon must have laid [illegible] and

prosperity. So far back as 1862 Sir Charles Wood laid down that a permanent settlement was the solution of the ryots' difficulties. But we know how this idea has not found favor with local experience. Lord Ripon has perceived the miseries of the millions mainly in the periodic reclassifications of land, and has therefore ruled that once a land is properly classified and valued by the Surveyor, that he should not again set his foot on that land, that the rates of assessment should not be enhanced at every period of revision except by the newly organized Agricultural Department on the basis of general prices and general prosperity of the district. We are quite glad that this special department has been organized, which we hope will develop into that efficient and comprehensive institution which may form the climax of a satisfactory land administration. The higher step of certainty taken by Lord Ripon is the formation of a department by the means of which the agricultural and economic details of each village may be obtained. The greatest of all blunders committed by past administrations was the endeavour to bring about fixity with a highly imperfect knowledge of the agricultural capacity and resources, as also the political and administrative needs of the country. Even now an attempt towards any degree of fixity of tenures and assessments would inspire confidence in proportion to the accuracy of the total data obtained. We surmise the motive of Lord Ripon in instituting the land reform is to ensure the rates of assessments to be kept so low as may admit of quite a fair increase at the end of a large period, and the attainment of a higher degree of prosperity as may affect every large village, or a group of villages. There is one point on which we must seriously disagree with Mr. Yajnik. Surely, we can perfectly well admit that Lord Ripon leaves India more contented than ever without having a deliberate and downright fling at "the croakers and pessimists in England who lead, or rather mislead, the British public into supposing that India is on the brink of troublous times, that there are dangers immediately ahead." Even if such a precise danger existed, it would by no means mean that "Lord Ripon has ruled over India in vain for four years and-a-half that we have met to little purpose in this hall to celebrate his rule over us, if that is to be the immediate result of his administration." The administration of any great man in the world might as well stop diseases and deaths as the administration of Lord Ripon may be expected to prevent the inevitable in the absence of time and opportunity to control it beforehand. Call them what we may like, but it is our bounden duty to listen to those who maintain that the military strength of the Indian

Empire is perilously low. It matters not the least whether the Empire may be fated to dangers to-morrow, or any period hence ; it would still be the imperative duty of wise and wary statesmen to keep themselves prepared for any storm that may chance to come over the country. We gave this warning emphatically years ago, and what is the direction to which matters have been approaching? The political parties of England have not been able to assure us for all time to come that there will be no breach of peace between England and Russia, or between England and any other power in close sympathy with Russia. And it is in this condition of uncertainty that we find Russia coming closer to India with ever-increasing brute force at its back. We cannot repeat sufficiently that the deputation shortly to wait on Earl Dufferin should seriously draw His Lordship's attention to the present dire necessity of the Empire, which we have again been urging on public attention, not only in the interests of the general Empire, but also to secure the greater advance, dignity, prosperity and unity of Native States. This extremely knotty question apart, which the diplomatic skill and princely shrewdness and magnanimity of the Earl should be able to cope with brilliantly and successfully, the public will cordially endorse the view of Mr. Yajnik that in large and small matters, which had fallen to the lot of the Marquis to deal with, he employed real foresight. "All that he did could not have been accomplished if Lord Ripon was a mere dreamer and an unpracticable man—one who in all acts of his administration was carried away by airy theories of radical philosophy." The truth is, Lord Ripon has been found free of vain dreams. All he has been guilty of is applying a highly elevated and cultured mind in stimulating native loyalty towards the Crown and the people of England. How can you procure closer and warmer loyalty to the Paramount Power, unless you moved those feelings, and unless, again, you regulated them, as Lord Ripon has so wisely and so practically done? We should be near banishing all blessed statesmanship the moment we are agreed in putting down Lord Ripon's acts as those of a dreamer and an unpractical Radical. To our mind Lord Ripon makes the nearest approach to the character of those worthies whose characteristics have been described by the poet :—

To stand the first in worth as in command,
To add new honors to my native land,
Before my eyes my mighty sires to place,
And emulate the glories of our race.

The real character of Lord Ripon was found out, though by very few, almost by the time he first began moving about in India. When he was affected by an almost fatal fever, only to rise in re-energized spirits, we had the privilege of setting on foot a movement for offering prayers and beseeching the mercies of the Almighty for his safety, which was then followed in various parts of the country. The prayers of the nation were heard in time, and the pledges given them by the bright-starred Marquis has been well requited in the short course of his Viceroyalty. It is quite true that he came out to India with an unselfish aim and influenced by high motives in the interests of both the mother and the subject countries. He now leaves India animated with the bright hopes with which a true and tender-hearted nurse feeds her precious and beloved charge. We pray that His Lordship may live long in health and strength to be of still higher use to India.—*7th December*, 1884.

The new Viceroy in India.

The clearly perceptible fringes of Indian nationalities have been for the last few weeks filled in with bright holiday colors—the groundwork for the nicer tints and hues destined to have such a wide spread in future on the broad political and social canvas of India. A Liberal Dictator having erected his Shrine of Beneficence in the heart of political India departs with its universal regret—but a regret that has been converted into a hopeful joy by the arrival of a true Imperial Dictator of a rich and abiding promise encased and emblazoned in a firmament of gems that draw their lustre from the inmost, the remotest recesses of the home of Freedom and Refinement; from the centre of far piercing Enterprise and Valor; from the undying brilliancy of human nature sunk deep in the dreary strata of darkness and corruption; from the redeeming traits of the region of Barbarity and Despotism; from the hidden chambers of the land in which the brightest hopes dwell beneath the superlaid effervescence of home liberty and intoxication. Like the latest of the most skilful jewellers of the day, the departing spirit sets this half-antique modern jewelry to the renewed waters of radiance, the sight of which makes us unmindful for the moment the loss occasioned to India by Lord Ripon's departure.

Earl of Dufferin has been greeted to the shores of India in a manner so warm and joyous as a native family know how to accord to a rich bride or an influential son-in-law when first received in the nuptial home. Lord

development. A strong ruler as he is likely to be, he is not likely to be anything but fully appreciative of feeling the pulse of the Indian nations on every seasonable occasion when he can have brought before him the merits or demerits of every large question, or the safety or perils of each situation as it may arise. It is only by a free gauging of the intensity of passions and feelings and the depths of moral, mental and intellectual fervour on every suitable occasion, that a strong ruler can safely direct the helm of the Stateship with the aid of his own vigorous, but cautious and far-seeing, impulses.

The Earl's reply to the address of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay was his first utterance in India, and yet the most important yet delivered. When appointing His Lordship, Her Most Gracious Majesty laid—as he was pleased to say—express commands on him to do all in his power to promote the well-being of every nation in India. Accordingly, as he stated he would always be prepared to consult European and Native advisers of every province in India to guide him in his actions. That he is not likely to be a weak ruler may be gathered from the following passage from his Bombay speech :—

"It has been your pleasure to extend similar courtesies to several of my predecessors when they stood—as I do now—on the threshold of their career in this country, unwitting of the good or evil fortune which might be in store for them. These illustrious persons have greatly differed from each other in their antecedents, their dispositions, their attainments, and their intellectual idiosyncracies. But there is one quality which all of them have possessed in common—a deep-rooted and unswerving determination to sacrifice ease, health, leisure, nay, as some of them have done, even life itself, at the welcome and spirit-stirring call of duty. (Hear, hear, and cheers) It is this characteristic which has impressed the Government of India, from its foundation to the present day, with a loftiness of aim and intention, and an energy in execution, which I believe to be unparalelled in the history of the world. (Cheers.) Though not presuming to compare myself with the statesmen who have gone before me, in this last respect at least I trust to prove their equal, and to preserve unimpaired the noble traditions of devotion and self-effacement which have been established by their heroic examples, and by none more signally than by your present illustrious and eminent Viceroy. (Loud cheers.) Whatever criticisms may be justly passed on my future administration, it shall be in the power of no man to allege that either from fear or favour, or any personal consideration, I have turned aside from whatever course was most conducive to the happiness of the millions entrusted to my care (cheers), or to the dignity, honour, and safety of that mighty Empire with which this great dependency is indissolubly incorporated." (Renewed cheers.)

The indication which the new Viceroy gives of the line of policy he is likely to pursue foreshadows a strength of governing which is not to be applauded as strength for strength's sake, but as a

security both for the Suzerain and the feudatories. While dealing with this large question with a view to a closer and more affectionate alliance with Native Princes, and securing for the empire that accession of strength which is *hourly* due to it, a Vice-Regent of the most beloved Queen on the earth, who knows how to gracefully acknowledge the light which the Persian and Mahomedan nations lent to Europe in its darkest days, must also command the power of increasing the honour, content and prosperity of each Native State of importance, as His Lordship would supply the initiative for internal economy and reforms to those who have not yet been in any degree accustomed to them. The relations with Afghanistan have to be invigorated on a separate basis of facts and circumstances. The policy towards it, while required to be of masterly quietness, must, nevertheless, succeed in creating a material strength in that Kingdom which all must be its own and of its powerful ally in the Indian Government. The resources of that Kingdom should be so far assorted and strengthened that they may form an independent bulwark against the encroachments of any rival power. The most active and the most trusted intervention is what Afghanistan, in a much greater degree than Persia, has needed since years past. The Earl will no doubt engage himself seriously on questions of educational, industrial, material and political importance; but all such gain will be nowhere if points of permanent security of the Indian peoples and States are any longer consigned to obscurity simply on account of any difficulties in dealing with them. As air and water are the first essentials for human existence, so is an adequate and independent military strength necessary to the very existence and prosperity of this Empire.—*21st December*, 1884.

Lord Ripon's Parting Speech.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR of Bombay had the good grace of leading the Bombay public to pay their final ovation to the Viceroy who is returning home richly laden with the praise and admiration of Oriental communities. The climax of native joy at the successful termination of the Marquis's Viceroyalty was found in the last Town Hall Meeting at Bombay. Sir James Fergusson's brief and happy speech showed that the asperity of the British community in India towards Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty has well nigh expired. At the same time our own demonstrations of loyalty and esteem have been carried to a very high pitch. At any rate it appears that the dissentient Anglo-Indians have not been found unwilling to make peace with Lord Ripon

on the eve of his retirement. They have markedly kept themselves back from joining the public movement in India, but their present attitude will lead an impartial historian to infer that there was no misdeed which they could hurl against Lord Ripon while overwhelmed with tokens of Indian approbation. The Anglo-Indians have chosen to remain the silent spectators of the unprecedented approbation showered on him by the leaders of native societies. Their studious silence seems a consistent quality, but is somewhat unmeaning. They should have either moderately joined in the public demonstrations, or in duty bound, as true Britons, might have shown by deferential speech how native demonstrations were mischievous—if mischievous they have appeared. In this case we should have expected them to aver with courage how Lor[illegible] gn was harmful—if harmful it was. They have shown no [illegible] feeling, and as we always have been the impar[illegible] 's w[illegible] India, we are bound to record t[illegible] ble verdict against the late [illegible] judgment upon it to go b[illegible]

We shall no[illegible] orable speech on leav[illegible] h t he has made Afg[illegible] a suffi-cient policy; [illegible] ought not to have [illegible] W ought to ha [illegible] Amir to stre [illegible] have gained [illegible] essential for [illegible] have been un [illegible]

[illegible] at [illegible]

lic Works' Policy, and this has been vouchsafed to us. But will any Viceroy have the courage to tell the influential classes of India what sin they commit in resenting the income tax, while the salt of the poor is still taxed, and there is an immoderate burden on the free dispensation of justice? Oh the dreaded spectre of unpopularity which await the statesman who dare put his hand in the purse of the proud! Perhaps the Ilbert bill anger will be nothing in comparison to the storm that a full income tax might raise. But by and bye we may perhaps show a quiet way how to deal with this political monster which every Viceroy coming out to India would rather let alone! His Lordship spoke of the steps taken to relieve owners and cultivators of the soil from certain hardships which former systems entailed on them. We are quite satisfied to know that the revenue system of the Bombay Government is ahead of all India. The sympathies of Government have not been illspent in regard to the improved modes of levy and securing for the ryots the benefits of improvements made by them at their own expense, though we are as yet far away as ever from the creation of that popular revenue Court which can grapple with the difficulties constantly rising in relation to various tenures, or the relations between landlords and various occupants of the soil, or the various rights pertaining to the different classes of landlords, middlemen, &c. Lord Ripon has been instrumental in impressing on the subordinate governments the necessity for giving a fair and honest trial to agricultural banks. A trial of this sort will at any rate give birth to that honest enterprize which impoverished ryots will need. The late Viceroy was justly proud in the share he had in abolishing the Vernacular Press Gagging Act. But His Lordship has rightly exhorted the Native Press to realize the immense responsibility they wield in reference to forming and directing public opinion. We have ourselves every now and then spoken with extreme disapproval of the rabid tone of a small section of the Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular Press. The speech of Lord Ripon, in reply to the address from the Native Press, was one which every newspaper conductor in India ought to suspend before him, in his editorial sanctum, in golden letters. The Native Press should unite in generating that virtuous and moderate force which the Marquis spoke of, and stamping down the violent, scurrilous, abusive and hatred-exciting language, which is now and then employed by a few papers with a mistaken notion that by inflaming the public [illegible] they instruct it, or induce the Government to

we may require of them. We should write firmly and truthfully and with care, but without imputing vile motives to the rulers or indiscriminately abusing their policy as spoliatory, while we can by no means conscientiously say it is so. Lord Ripon could not have done better than taking to the attention of his successor the necessity of spreading technical education in India with a view to create new sources of employment for the millions who now halfstarve for want of adequate worldly means and healthy industry. This single question is enough to engross the most serious attention of a capable statesman. In this respect we want the same progress as has been made on the Continent; even better, in some respects, than in England.

After dealing with the question of technical instruction, His Lordship referred to that of female education. It was the impetus given to that education by the recent movement at Poona, which seems to have especially made an effect on him. His Lordship said he had not done anything noteable in reference to female education in India. It is "the first of social problems," but so much besetted with difficulties that he said that Government by itself can do very little. It is for the people themselves to do a good deal and to point out how Government can move in the matter. It is for the people themselves, he said, to show to Government how far they are prepared to accept progress in female education. Government can only take slow and cautious steps. He said this though he felt the deepest interest in the cause of female education in India. The prudence and breadth of Lord Ripon's views cannot be over-estimated. The leaders cannot afford to be hasty, nor indiscriminate, in actually dealing with this grave problem. The Government cannot afford to open the floodgates of its eloquence and of its material resources in the cause of female education. The steps to be taken onward should be gradual, sound, and conceived with great forethought. The primary education of the bulk of the people is of much higher importance than the education of the female population in general. We cannot just in this age think of imparting any highly finished, literary, or classical education to the female mass in general. Any spread of primary education among them should, in a large measure, be initiated by the people themselves, for the resources of the Government are much more vital matters. All that the Government can now do is to supplement the actual efforts of our communities in spreading primary and other useful household

education in the females only to some small extent. Supposing some communities took a fancy to establish several high schools and colleges for females which imparted only the general education, the Government will not be bound to give grants-in-aid to all such institutions. We of course speak in general terms. The best that can be done in this age is to spread primary female education within certain limits, and to devise some comparatively costly scheme for imparting a higher education, useful and ornamental, which can be utilized *at home*, in *soirees*, and in connection with female health and training. The desire for imparting the highest culture to native ladies is as yet a very individual aspiration among the natives. And those desiring this higher benefit can well afford to pay for it. Those most interested in it will surely find the means for securing it. One of the greatest difficulties connected with female education is the formation of special and appropriate text-books for female schools and to devise a perfect standard of arts and sciences to which female mind can beneficially be subject to.

Lord Ripon briefly alluded to the scheme of self-government as introduced by him in India. It is a question which has been discussed threadbare, though it has yet not produced the full fruits which, when produced, will proclaim the sagacity of the Marquis louder than now. He only spoke the truth when he said that the elected Boards and Municipalities have become an important and universal fact; wherever they have been attempted as laid down in his Resolutions. In a few years more both the Government and the people will be agreeably surprised to observe the extent and importance of municipal work done by the people elected by the mass of their own countrymen. It is the most correct principle followed when the people are trained to do practical business themselves, in applying their own money in securing the fulfilment of their own wants. The government of *a very large and a very troublesome country should* expect some division of their labor to charge the subject people with. The Government can show greater confidence in the work when they spend their own money, while the people begin to learn how far they may comfortably spend their own money and where to stop. The regular administrators are thus relieved of a part of their growing responsibilities, which otherwise would prove very baneful and unwieldy. It is a public benefit if the Government seeks to relieve itself of some suspicion and discredit by pointing out to the people how they can [illegible] by their

own efforts, especially because by so directing the State policy, the State can devote better attention to the more important parts of the State vessel. When the people commence to feel the benefits they would acquire by spending for themselves their own funds, they could ascertain how far would they tax their own purse, to be within the measurable limits of the gain they would desire. There would thus be a greater chance of preventing waste and misappropriation, while the collective talents of the best among the people will always be at the disposal of our good Government. The Earl of Dufferin struck the true chord when he answered those who asked him to follow his predecessor's policy, that it was one in the success of which he was deeply interested, but that it was also one any great extension of which will mainly rest on the people themselves. The people must remember the earnest and impressive manner in which the departed Viceroy spoke of village sanitation :—

"And, gentlemen, when the work is completed here, when your local "boards are established in the various districts of this great presidency, "let me beg you as my last request connected with this subject in which "I have felt so deep and keen an interest, to turn your attention to the "question—small it may be in some senses of the word, but of the greatest magnitude for the benefit of the mass of the people—to the question of village sanitation. (Cheers.) I leave that as my legacy to the "work of local boards in Bombay."

Medical relief, water supply, fire and flood distresses, road communications, removal of actual filth and character of food substances, are some of the more important sanitary matters relating to villages and smaller towns, which will in future draw greater public attention than now. The public health of the cities is, in some measure, dependent on the sanitation of lesser adjacent places, as the head must feel the pain in the fingers. It must have caused peculiar satisfaction to Lord Ripon when he saw in the Town Hall that one of the numerous deputations was composed of a large number of actual cultivators of the soil. He had promised in 1880 at that very place that one of his first duties would be to endeavor to improve their condition, and he now found them there to tell him that he had fulfilled his promise. Thus a piece of no sentimental but solid good work done by him in India is evident, which must bear even larger fruits in future when his successors pursue the same path of finding out where the best good of the largest number existed.

The words addressed to the Salem gentlemen showed what sympathy was possible in the foreign rulers' breast when they were convinced that some judicial wrong was done. We cannot state more on this subject, not having gone through the literature relating thereto.

Though the recent demonstrations have been remarkable by the abstention of Anglo-India from joining them, Madras deputed its Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association to bid Lord Ripon a kind farewell, and thank him for what he had done for the Anglo-Indian and Eurasian community of India. He did something of permanent value for advancing education in that community. Lord Ripon said that this measure had subjected him to the severe criticisms of the natives of India,—some of them, we believe, who don't mind imparting a radical tone to their patriotism,—but that as the measure was a just one in the interests of that community—though an opposite one—he had persisted in it. This measure shows what righteous spirit Lord Ripon was possessed of. We were not wrong in saying the other day that if he had more time in India he would have gained a more telling esteem even of the Anglo-Indians, notwithstanding that the acts of his government were misunderstood for a short period. When a country is composed of powerful communities whose individual interests are now and then expected to clash, a Ruler should have full scope to show equal and a just proportion of sympathy for each of them.—*11th Jan.*, 1885.

The Outlook.

We do not just now remember who that great statesman was who exclaimed at the end of an unusually triumphant career of five years, that 'these five years' achievements will give him fifty years' gratification in private life'. Well this is the net result which Lord Ripon now carries home with him, whatever his countrymen in India have thought of him. But these as well as the leading natives of India are free to hope that he may actually enjoy his satisfaction for the number of years that the statesman in our mind allegorically exclaimed as his due. In this simple expression we encompass a cart-load of poems for the really good and great Ripon.

They say no Viceroy ever took away so much of the heart of the people as Lord Ripon has done. But *we* say the popular demonstrations which have greeted him on his departure are nothing to the [illegible] of loyalty which the Indians will show in future [illegible] who

crosses the alphabets of liberal statesmanship, which the depart Marquis had such difficulties in explaining in India. To a certain peri and to a certain stage of the Indian history of the future, our countrym will be carried away by such bursts of enthusiasm which were witness in Bombay last week. These fits so commendable in their character a easier to practise than the earnest and continuous endeavours to devel the government of the Queen-Empress on those broad lines of harmle progress and solid prosperity which we have taken so many years to pe ceive and which we yet have to fully perceive. When a child is full joy and is lost in gushing mirth, its parent or elder, though pleased, thin at the same time how, pleasantly, to regulate its exuberant temper and mak it think of sobering and improving it. The state of the infant empire India must lead us to assume the Earl of Dufferin to be our elder, an as such,—though we have already succeeded in engaging his sympathies i our behalf,—we should not think that he sets any inordinate value o the overflowing fervour of our countrymen in Bombay. This fervour wi not move him an inch more in giving us greater concessions than the lat Viceroy was able to give us. But his tendency will be to attempt sounder morg durable and more comprehensive reforms than were possible in th last régimé. No statesman can fully foresee the consequences of his larg striding measures. Hence in the succeeding period stock is taken of such consequences, and the course of succeeding events is shaped accordingly. As the highest authority of the land would say, there is a continuity in the changing Viceroyalties of India; but may we venture to modify this statement by hinting that there is both deep consistency in changing Viceroyalties and disintegration in the succeeding viceregal policies bequeathed to strong-minded successors. In India Viceroyalty is the only pivot on which any grand march of affairs rests. And that Viceroy must be poor indeed in ability and imagination who cannot make a history for himself. The Earl of Dufferin has expressed a nervous hope that he would work quietly and return home without creating any stir. What he probably means is he will not fail to develop the course of Indian History in every available direction he can lay his hands upon; and all this he would like to do in a manner which would not rouse rival passions and feelings among the multitudinous races of the country. At any rate the state of things left by Lord Ripon has been guarded enough; and his illustrious successor will have earned every gratitude if he does the

requisite good to India by adding to its resources of prosperity and safety by a reasonable conciliation of all the great rival parties and classes which make up this Democratic—Conservative Empire. The pride and selfishness of all classes, when they crop up too much, have to be restrained and squared for mutual benefit; while the poorer classes deserve the highest and most earnest statesmen's labors by which they may quietly get into self-acting paths leading to more knowledge and forgetfulness of pinching poverty and straitened occupations. To do equable justice and good between the various races inhabiting India, is the most difficult problem which the Earl will have to solve. While solving that problem, and acting upon it, His Excellency will probably not betray himself into a pronounced position, either in undue favour of, or against, any particular population of India. The most skilful manipulation of practical considerations will be essential as soon as the Earl acts upon the very upright and very soothing theory touching the very core of the formidable Indian difficulty, that whether a question relates to the interests and privileges of the ruled or the rulers, they are substantially identical, and none of them need be opposed to the interests of England or India. We do not remember just here the exact words of our present Viceroy, but do not think we have misapprehended his real spirit. As we have already said, the real difficulty would lie in rendering the Native and European problems 'identical' in practice. The magnitude of each interest will probably influence the course of action of the Viceroy in each case. That would form the real truce between India and England of mutual good and safety.—[illegible] *Jan.*, 1885.

'The Eulogistic Literature of the Tombstone.'

A village elder when he grew old and was near dying [illegible] was it that he desired most after his death [illegible] fond of children in all his lifetime [illegible] the place dearly loved him. [illegible] streets, daily, his pocket filled with bits of sweetmeat [illegible] distributed these bits among the children who [illegible] ing addressed in appropriate words of advice [illegible] question put to him was that he liked [illegible] that the people should say on his [illegible] tears having lost him, none of them [illegible] he had showed and the caressing words [illegible]

We cannot do better than recall to mind this little story narrated to u years ago as we read the article of the *London Times* indited on the day Lor Ripon left India. "Lord Ripon, who leaves Calcutta to-day, has been bus receiving those valedictory addresses which so forcibly recall the eulogisti literature of the tombstone." If the literature be of the tombstone, i will not at any rate die; nor is it such that any succeeding statesman, how ever magical the wand he may be able to exercise even to the entire satis faction of the *Times*, can or will be tempted to ignore. Like the old village who left an undying impression of good on the minds of his favourite chil dren, friends-Lord Ripon, before leaving India, has left certain seeds o undying charm and vitality which the English Statesmen as well as the Indiar people will not cast away as if they were a heap of unmeaning and decaying 'tombstones.' We should like to realize for ourselves the stretch of wisdom if that is what characterizes the critic in our great Monitor of the world With this view natives of India ought to acquaint themselves with th grounds shown in the *Times* to discourage the example of Lord Ripon being imitated in the Queen's Eastern Empire.

All the eulogies heaped on Lord Ripon when leaving India, are said to be the result of Oriental compliments, besides which "our most laboured effort of courtesy seem cold." It is admitted, however, that some "solid emotion" underlies the native demonstrations, which consists of a "considerable quantity of genuine native admiration for the retiring Viceroy." Making allowance for the spirit of Oriental flattery even a "vague belief" must be held, as the *Times* urges, that "in some way Lord Ripon was peculiarly a friend of the natives." The quality which would bring about such a result as from the subject race towards Her Majesty's first Pro-Consul in India hence seems at any rate an admirable one. This unwilling recognition of a quality, the wholesomeness of which cannot be ignored, is followed by a denunciation, the bitterness of which can only equal an experience of 'perdition' itself—at least a theoretic perdition. We quote below the passage which well nigh must take one's breath out :—

"Such popularity would be in every way desirable were it not accompanied by the profound disapprobation of men who have given the best part of their lives and their energies to service of the natives of India, and whose solid claims to be considered their friends far outweigh any that Lord Ripon can put forth. Unwise indulgence will always win the suffrages of the foolish, but we venture to think that the more sober and enlightened portion of the native population privately holds opinions not dissimilar from those of experienced Europeans in India. At all events the *Hindoo Patriot*, probably the ablest of native newspapers, has summed up the late

Viceroy as a man "full of good intentions" There is no more damning form of faint praise than to declare a man's salient characteristic to be abundance of a commodity which, unless controlled and directed by wisdom, paves for nations, as for men, the way to perdition."

That Lord Ripon should have succeeded in engaging the sympathies of parts of the Indian communities more profoundly than any of the more permanent administrators who have quietly done much good work in India, is a circumstance which must evoke the anxious sympathy of a large-minded patriot. The simple explanation of this rather unusual circumstance is to be marked in the difference of opportunities which both parties have respectively held in India. Lord Ripon found himself in a position to toil in a great ocean ; the other administrators referred to by the *Times* held the reins of the oceanic streams which fed the great ocean. Hitherto we have been diving in the rivers ; but a plunge into the ocean has been inevitable. The Indian ocean of politics cannot ever remain undisturbed. If disturbed they must be—and we predict they will hereafter be disturbed to an extent quite unprecedented—all that is required to be done is, with the heat of the disturbance there should not follow any uncontrollable storm to the paramount and unworthy injury of either of the two countries. True a disturbance was caused : the wisest and the most experienced of Lord Ripon's councillors were not in a position to anticipate it ; but when decided signs of such disturbance appeared, the mariner of the vessel was found capable enough to prevent the storm gathering ahead. The outcome was scarcely any such thing as that "the way to perdition" was paved. On the other hand, both high and small have been led upon a broad track, hitherto unexplored, which *must* be explored sooner or later in the interests of humanity ; and all of us have had an exceptional opportunity of marking where and how shoals and hidden rocks are likely to be encountered, and how those can be best avoided, while a broad humane policy is followed. It is futile to repent now that a slight spark unwitted chanced to ignite a mass of rubbish combustibles, which being swept away have all at once revealed the prospect of a beautiful region set up in their place. No sturdy, no reasonably sympathetic statesman can be tempted to grant "an unwise indulgence which always win the suffrages of the foolish." Lord Ripon was not sufficiently long in India to disprove this rather hasty assertion made of him. To know what are the exact "suffrages of the foolish," they [illegible] appear to the front. They often appear of th[illegible]

any one as the angry part of the Anglo-Indian outburst appeared of itself without any one being previously warned about it. The continuity of the policy not likely to rest on the suffrages of the foolish is now supplied by the Earl of Dufferin. His words on the point must be deemed noteworthy, in that his predecessor was not in a position to use them :— "My desire is to gain the confidence and good-will of Her Majesty's "Indian subjects at large. I have not myself the slightest doubt that "eventually I shall succeed in doing so, but it will be most unreasonable "if I were to expect that result for some time to come. *In fact I shall "scarcely value attachment or respect if I did not merit it by my acts.*" Here we have the key to the viceregal desire to gain the confidence and good-will of the subjects at large. As that key is applied, the necessary consequence of opening the safety valves of rival passions and feelings of the multitudes follows, and substantial good is conferred only by the positive acts mentioned by the present Viceroy such as, we presume, would be held just by the public at large. It therefore necessarily follows that the esteem of a particular sect of the people is not a thing to be relied upon when matters pertaining to a broad national policy are effected. When Earl Dufferin has an opportunity to display his impartiality in exercising his functions in the interests of the Queen's subjects at large, and while so doing if he is not able to specially conciliate the feelings of any particular class of the population, the *Times*, it is to be hoped, may not say again that we have been led to the "way of perdition." Every party admitting that national aspirations are constantly created in India to be reasonably fulfilled, it is absurd to expect that the suffrages of the mass or the different communities, wise, or foolish, or both, will not be stirred up in the cause. The management of an empire is not like the management of a factory in which the owner may safely tend up to a certain point almost everything to the conservation of his own interests. The administrators of an empire have desires and interests to satisfy which are of infinitely more importance than those exclusively belonging to themselves. It can be safely managed only by a moving and well-regulated machinery. Whether there is a moral or material machinery to deal with, both require some substance like grease to prevent friction in the working of the machinery, and its break-down. He must be a hard block formed of some utterly impermeable stuff who cannot understand the value of grease and its application ; for, to evoke even the suffrages

of the foolish is the result of applying grease to the wheels of the administrative machinery, which in a country like India must work constantly, and not stand still, or lag behind. What has affected us most while reviewing the criticisms of the *Times* on the administration of Lord Ripon, as published in the course of the last two years, is the unkindness with which the affairs of the great nations in India have been treated,—an unkindness which is more severe than that meted out to the departing Viceroy. It is no doubt well-intentioned, but has hardly been correctly applied not being based on quite rational grounds, while all the while seeming to have deplorably lost the touch of the present times with which the journal has professed to deal in an oracular fashion.—*1st Feb.*, 1885.

Declaration of Policy by the Earl of Dufferin as Viceroy of India.

No impartial observer can deny that the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Calcutta Trade Dinner was a comprehensive and straightforward [illegible] of the policy he intends to pursue during [illegible] alty. It was certainly no elaborate oration ; in fact it could [illegible] made so. The various sections of the political public [illegible] naturally anxious to know from the Viceroy personally, [illegible] to govern India after Lord Ripon's régime had created [illegible] agitation in India. Had Lord Ripon left India in a [illegible] condition,—that is without exciting the antipathy [illegible] ing the aspirations of native India,—there would [illegible] present close and keen desire to ascertain what [illegible] Dufferin is likely to be.

Whatever the excitement and anxieties [illegible] nations of India consequent upon a strong [illegible] of a noted character, the Earl of Dufferin [illegible] the aims he is to follow. Brief as the speech [illegible] party, if a careful and truthful [illegible] ever satisfy mankind. There is absolutely [illegible] can be made a matter of an [illegible] tiancy. Considering the [illegible] not have taken a more cautious [illegible] He could not well decline the [illegible] to attend their time-honored annual public dinner [illegible] sections of the Government and [illegible]

ing their views and sentiments affecting the well-being of the numerous subjects of the Eastern Empress. If we differed from the Viceroy from any of the views expressed there, we are bound to say that that would be more on account of our incapacity to fully comprehend the difficulties of his unique position. For instance, he mentioned as we quote him below, that he was doubtful if an Executive head of the Government could, with propriety, indulge in speech-making, except on rare occasions :—

"I knew that I should be expected to address those whose hospitality I was permitted to share, but I had some doubts whether it was altogether desirable that the Head of the Executive Government of India should indulge, otherwise than upon very exceptional and rare occasions, in oratorical displays. It is his duty to listen to others rather than to speak himself; to examine and decide rather than to discuss or advocate; and if I am right in considering that such ought to be the general rule of his conduct, it is still more imperative that he should follow it when he is but newly arrived in a land, which presents to his consideration so many problems of the greatest magnitude and importance, and where a casual word pronounced in ignorance or under misapprehension may occasion numberless embarrassments."

A new Viceroy cannot but take up this position of a calculating diffidence. We have all been accustomed of late to the expression of strong views, each in an opposite direction. Rival passions and prejudices have been evoked on the side of powerful parties opposed to each other. Each of them has considered itself either to be in the right, or to have been wronged. Each has naturally wished to obtain a favorable declaration from the new supreme head in its own behalf. In this position of affairs the Earl of Dufferin seems to have only maintained an impartial bearing as affecting the opposite parties, by asserting that a Viceroy should rather examine and decide than discuss and advocate. That the problems he is now confronted with are difficult to comprehend satisfactorily, no one can doubt, especially in the case of a responsible ruler who has just assumed his office. That he should lay, perhaps, a greater stress on the necessity of observing silence, or refraining from the arena of public discussion, is, we think, more owing to the newness of his position in India, than to anything like a conviction which he may not modify in the course of his Viceroyalty. It remains to be seen, however, if his inclinations will be those of an actively reforming administrator, or of a passive and moderate one, though we are not altogether without material for conjecturing to some extent on the line of action he is likely to adopt in India. He has done the best and the safest thing in steadily avoiding a false position by an emphatic declaration in favor of any party as the cause of which he is likely to espouse,

though he has made no secret of his intentions to favor anything which appeared to him to be fair, safe, and practicable without caring what party was pleased or displeased. We ought to love him best in this, literally, a flawless position that he has adopted for himself. We all know that Lord Ripon conducted the affairs of India, as far as they went, conscientiously and admirably, and no one so steadily, though cautiously, supported him throughout as our own humble selves. But this is no sufficient reason for us to contend that the new Viceroy will be a good and true Viceroy if he adopted only what his predecessor had chalked out for himself and so nobly adhered to in the midst of disheartening difficulties and disappointments. The independent work of Lord Ripon has in itself disclosed certain new features in the politics of India, which cannot but be taken into account by his successor. Until he is thoroughly posted up in his mission, he cannot express his full views on any question which is likely to excite the public mind in inimical directions. His Lordship sees the necessity of acknowledging with equal readiness the friendly welcome offered him 'from the time he landed in Bombay to the present moment by all ranks and conditions of men, by the various com- 'munities which compose our body-politic and by his British and native 'fellow subjects.' The Earl further says :—

"All have made me feel that they are ready to give me their confidence ; that they are willing to believe in my sincere desire to do my duty faithfully by each of them ; that they appreciate the difficulties of the task which lies before me, and that I can count on their conjoint sympathy and united assistance in my endeavours to promote the well-being of the common weal."

So large and so difficult a country as India cannot be beneficially and peacefully governed unless, as the Viceroy maintains, all the different and important subjects of the Queen are mutually friendly, and can, therefore, accord conjoint sympathy and united assistance to him in mitigating the difficulties of the task before him. There can be no doubt that much of unrest and exasperation of feelings may be avoided if the Viceroy can carry with him in the execution of his high duties the general assent or sympathy of *all* the powerful classes of India, though on several occasions some of them may have to put up with something or other modificatory of their condition and privileges. When and how each of such classes has to give way to assist the Viceroy's "endeavours to promot[illegible] well-being of the common weal" will be no mean [illegible] time

to time. The Head at the Administration is the only *authority*, in the present circumstances, to decide between the conflicting interests. When we are satisfied that he has done his very best in reconciling all difficulties and striking out the only possible course left him, it would be incumbent on all to accept his decree without murmur. Nothing better can be expected under human management. As His Lordship further proceeded, he made some definite statement of the policy he was bent on carrying out. He said :—

" Now, some of those present are probably anxious that I should define the character of the policy I am disposed to follow. I do not know that there is any reason why I should not gratify their curiosity. In doing so, I shall disclose no secret, nor initiate them, in a new revelation, for my policy will be guided by those ancient principles upon which the British Empire in India was originally founded, which have ever since been interwoven with its structure, and vindicated in turn by each of my illustrious predecessors, namely, a justice which neither prejudice nor self-interest can pervert ; an impartiality between all religions and races, which refuses to be irritated by criticism or cajoled by flattery ; and a beneficence of intention which seeks to spread abroad amongst the many millions of her Majesty's subjects in this country contentment, prosperity, wealth, education, professional advancement, a free scope to municipal institutions, and every other privilege which is compatible with effectual and authoritative government. (Cheers.) And in saying this, remember I am not speaking in my own name, nor merely as the Head of the Indian Administration. I am speaking in the name of the Queen-Empress herself, and not only of the Queen, but of the Parliament and people of England, who are fully determined that English rule in India shall be so blamelessly and vigorously conducted as to become the crowning glory of our country's history, and that any grievance and wrong of which her Majesty's subjects can complain, whether princes or people ; whether native or British-born, shall be examined into, and so far as the imperfection of all human administration will allow, abated or redressed. (Cheers.) That I may be able under God's Providence during my brief residence among you to perform the part allotted to me in a satisfactory manner is my dearest ambition. There is no sacrifice, whether of time, labour, health or strength, I am not prepared to make in pursuit of it, and though it is only by painful and slow degrees that so vast and inchoate a community as ours can expect to move towards the consummation of an ideal, I trust that, when the time arrives for me to quit these shores, I may have perceptibly contributed towards the advancement of the country, and the realization of the just and legitimate aspirations of its inhabitants, and to the fair fame and stability of the British Empire. That you, gentlemen, as organizers of labour, as promoters of the industrial arts, as creators and distributors of wealth, are powerful factors in our national development, none can doubt ; and it is on that account, I again repeat, I have so much pleasure in finding myself associated with you in to-night's celebration." (Loud cheers.)

We are gradually nearing the day when no doubt will be left as to the policy which Her Majesty's Government will hereafter more strenuously pursue in India. Not having any doubt as to this policy him-

self, he could not understand it as a secret as many have understood it. He said he had no "revelation" to make in that respect. The Empire, he meant to say, cannot be conducted on any other principle except that which was employed in effecting the general conquest of India and abolishing its general anarchy and barbarism. His Lordship maintained that his rule will be that of order, justice and impartiality dealt out equally to all, whether princes or people, and to all religions and sects alike; that measures of education, prosperity and professional and municipal advancement will be developed; and that, while neither hostile criticism nor servile flattery will be allowed to disturb the course of conduct of His Lordship, the stability of the British Empire will be further strengthened and the crowning glory of its history will be kept in view in the increasing happiness of Her Majesty's subjects. This is a high and difficult ideal no doubt, and one in the pursuit of which the Earl of Dufferin is resolved not to refrain from "any sacrifice, whether of time, labor, health, or strength." The ideal cannot be attempted all at once in such a difficult country as India, but His Lordship is fully confident of leaving some mark in that direction, the more so as the desires which he expressed were not only his desires but of the Queen-Empress and of the Parliament and people of Great Britain.

The policy which the Viceroy desires to follow is as correct in theory as is possible to put it in human language. It is as much as to say that he will remain firm and impartial in disposing of public questions, whoever be the parties involved in them. He would fear neither Europeans nor Natives, whatever the attitude they may take up towards him. He will be both stern and sympathetic. He will not grant privileges and freedom for the mere sake of granting them. He will surely not create any especially to please one community and offend another. His main light will be pushing on to the point of the crowning part of his country's glory, which *has already advanced India in the comity of the World's Nations. He will* endeavor to meet the aspirations of India, but would not do so if, thereby, the British authority is weakened. He would not mind offending the Anglo-Indian community if their clamour tended to the committal of any gross iniquity to the Indian nation. His Lordship will do everything for India, while stimulating the higher order of glory associated with the supremacy of Great Britain in India. While using his endeavors thus, he will not do any positive act by which the interests or the prestige of any important nation or community may be imperilled.

It would not be fair for the Anglo-Indian Press to express a word of dissent as regards the policy declared by the Viceroy. He is governing a country in which the Anglo-Indians are not the only factor to be considered in the disposal of India's destiny. The educated sons of the soil will fast outbid them in number; those who can hold their own on all ordinary occasions. As far as they can show their ability to serve the public interests and the Empire better than the Anglo-Indian settlers, it will not be possible for any Viceroy, however strong, to ignore native patriots, politicians, merchants, and noblemen altogether. It is true that they could not presume to deal with the highest functions of the country till it be made clear how they could do so with undoubted efficacy and justice; but that is no reason why any Viceroy can say—"keep yourselves far away, for you will never be fit for the higher forms of government." A spirit and tendency of this sort are altogether opposed to the original mission of the British, which the noble Lord explicitly declared that he would vindicate in the same manner as the more distinguished of his predecessors had done.

There is reason, again, why the Native Press should be so far exultant as to consider that the extreme Anglo-Indians and their advocates in the Press have been vanquished by the masterly declaration of the Viceroy explaining how justly he wishes to govern India. We natives cannot expect to have the Viceroy all to ourselves. As he cannot outrage our own feelings, so he cannot outrage the feelings of the ruling race. Europeans in India form a great motive factor in the re-generation of the country; and in endeavoring to acquire a greater influence in its administration we have to pay due respect to the prestige of the ruling race. The more we are able to compete with them successfully, the better shall we be able to associate with them with mutual benefit. After the honest, generous, careful and acute manner in which his policy has now been expounded, we may thoroughly rely on the Viceroy's firmness, sagacity, prescience and vigor in handling innovations and difficulties successfully enough, and in such a manner as to avoid all blame for any deliberate and aggressive race partiality. He will probably unite in his person all the useful and noble elements which ought to influence a free but emphatic government, and all ought to be content with that without indulging in uncontrolled agitation. As far as we can see for the present, the Premier and the Queen have succeeded in selecting the most experienced and skilled Statesman to

administer the affairs of India, who will no doubt always be ready to listen to whatever that is temperate, just, and essential which we might draw his attention to from time to time.—*22nd Feb.* 1885.

The retirement of Sir James Fergusson.

It is interesting to note the manner in which the Bombay Press has discussed the propriety of presenting a public address to Sir James Fergusson before his retirement from Bombay. A large number of our native contemporaries have strongly protested against the adoption of such a measure. The feeling seems to be general, however, in Bombay, that it would be indecent to permit the Governor to leave the scene of his five years' labors without his fellow-subjects bidding him an appropriate farewell. Undoubtedly a strong party exists in Bombay which will not feel itself restrained from adopting a public address simply for the reason that an enthusiastic address was presented to a greater and superior statesman like Lord Ripon, and that the unhappy Baronet had the audacity of criticising the feasibility of the Noble Lord's measure of self-government. It is creditable to the Native Press which has vigorously joined the onslaught against our well-meaning Governor that it has taken to this independent attitude—whether that attitude is correct or not being another question. We cannot by any means say that the opposition voters in the Press condemn the movement made in Bombay on a just and perfect appreciation of the Governor's administration, or of the present political situation in India.

The position of an autocratic ruler of India is just sufficient to entitle him to a public address provided that he is not proved to be an incapable, or an enemy of the country. A British autocratic ruler need not necessarily be presented with a public address, for he may have proved a very feeble and an indifferent ruler—one incapable of leaving any mark on the country. But one whose rule may only have turned out to be ordinarily good cannot be refused a suitable address when he leaves the country for good. Our own country in the first place has not yet produced a statesman fit to fight out his way as even a minor Governor or a divisional commissioner. If one of this character were to appear, we know how difficult he will find to administer the country in a marked and successful manner. It can be easily understood how more difficult must a foreigner find the work of governing any part of our country. It cannot be maintained that excepting a few English statesmen like the Hon'ble Mr. T. C. Hope, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

the civilians brought up in this country can, as a body, become able and successful governors. We must, therefore, expect England to continue to give us able politicians, administrators and statesmen as our governors. They are likely to handle our affairs with a larger heart and a cooler head than some of the civilians of the country. It is, therefore, the duty of native India not to be too rigid nor too extreme in showing its disapprobation to a retiring Governor. There is a slight dash of a very high pitched enthusiasm leading on to a total condemnation of the character and doings of Sir James as Governor. None of his opponents say that he has either showed himself to be a thick-headed, an inappreciative, an unimaginative, an ungenerous, or a despotic governor. No one says that he indulged in uncompromising habits; that he conciliated Europeans in order to ruin Natives; that he was arrogant to his colleagues and servile to his superiors; that he flattered the Natives to their detriment and jealously forbade anything that tended to their progress; that he did not admit his own faults and failings and spent his Indian career in indolence and pleasure; or that he has left no grand marks of his own administration. No one can deny that Sir James Fergusson often brought the noblest enthusiasm to bear upon the points of native advancement which he handled. He has worked hard at his post. He has imparted the greatest stimulus to works of public utility, whether in the British or Native administrations. He has scarcely spared misbehaving or incompetent officials. He has filled the Presidency with the noblest institutions of learning, enlightenment, humanity, and public utility. His orations have marked him an enlightened politician and an administrator of greater sincerity than some of his predecessors, only perhaps less famous than a Temple, Elphinstone, or a Frere. He has proved to be a high official of pluck and considerable personal qualities of worth. In his time good many Resolutions of sober sense, sound reasoning, and calculating liberalism have seen the light, which have improved the administration of the Presidency in several of its branches. He has been of great use to Native Chiefs, whose welfare he has sincerely desired, who have been led by him in righteous paths. The more he became familiar with the princes and the people, the better has he behaved towards them. He has constantly expanded his generous habits and shook off stiffness or illiberality as soon as he felt it himself. He is stated to have been impulsive, but has always been governed by an honorable ambition of correcting himself as soon as

he was convinced that he was wrong. His worst enemies could not say that he was an enemy of the natives. This would be too low an estimate to form of human nature as existing in statesmen and as public characters are formed in these days. We know of cases in which he has dealt out high justice to natives in that ready and generous manner which can only be common to high-minded men. His endeavors to make himself acquainted with every part of the Presidency have been as vigorous as they have been beneficial to the country at large. We do not think any governor in his position could have done much better than he has achieved in his short official term. No governor could have shown a greater resolution and a greater independence than Sir James has done at times. The experience of his government leads us to the conclusion that supposing another term of office was allowed him, the people generally would like him much better than they do him now.

In these circumstances a calm and faithful reflection on the proposal to give the retiring Governor a public farewell does not induce us to conclude that such a proposal is worthy of any sweeping condemnation. Of course Sir James did not show himself to be such a saviour as Lord Ripon was inclined to be. Nor is he a statesman fully capable of leading the Natives to the highest eminences of political blessings, or of moral and material prosperity. But public addresses are not usually given only to statesmen of towering morality and strength. They are freely given to lesser lights as well,—to those who have smaller opportunities. We know how this business is managed in nine cases out of ten. There are words of esteem and encouragement delivered for even secondary characters in the empire which really serve great purposes. It is no use for us to be too phlegmatic in public matters of this sort. We pass over the faults of our administrators, but applaud all points of excellence in their character only to bring the latter into greater prominence, and discourage further perpetuations of the former. It is enough that Sir James' career was not an evil one in India; it was certainly not the most distinguished which the most fastidious of us may expect. But is that a reason why we should pooh-pooh the very idea of bidding him a suitable farewell and raising a memorial for the perpetuation of his name amongst us as the distinguished and respected head of our society for the last five years? That he should have honestly and boldly stated the objections he conscientiously felt as existing against a very free introduction of the self-government scheme, cannot make him unworth

of receiving the public honor which is his due. If Lord Ripon was fortunate in receiving the most deserved ovations from the whole of India, Sir James should not be refused the smaller meed of honor due to him. The first was an exceptional circumstance no doubt. But it is that circumstance which has mainly prejudiced the claims of the retiring Governor on our esteem and generosity. We are quite sure that had Lord Ripon's scheme of self-government not influenced our minds, no one of note in Bombay would have thought of voting against Sir James' fitness for a public address. Probably His Excellency does not care at all whether he gets a public address or not; that is at least not the point of view from which we have been compelled to take objection to the attitude of so many of our worthy native contemporaries. Our main object is to point out the inferior policy of imitating the recent Anglo-Indian resentment displayed towards Lord Ripon. We ought not to act in that lower strain even if it be true that Sir James has not done for us as much as we expected of him. Every public address should befit the person and occasion calling for such an address. We should eschew all unpleasant or aggressive conservatism in dealing with pretty good English administrators, in whose career we should be so far interested that we might reap a return-reward from such friendly offers of fellow-feeling.—*8th March*, 1885.

The Times on Lord Ripon at Leeds.

It is difficult to believe that Lord Ripon has been "hasty" in "appealing" against the adverse judgment passed by Anglo-English opinion upon his policy in India. Their condemnation of him was very severe. It was further emphasised by their resolutely abstaining from paying him the courtesies due to his position on his departure from India. Had Lord Ripon delayed in explaining his policy on his return to England, such a late attempt would only have been pronounced both stale and unnecessary. It is amusing to be told that the "many intelligent and estimable persons" who were present at the banquet at Leeds, presided over by Sir Edward Baines, were ignorant of even "a rudimentary knowledge of the burning questions agitated in India "during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty." And yet *The Times* had not left a stone unturned to convince the people of England that the late Viceroy was committing the greatest mischief in India. And the Anglo-Indians had any amount of talk and representations on the questions handled by him. The great journal takes a strong exception to the observation made

by Sir Edward Baines that the Ilbert Bill was a measure "*than which none* "had ever passed in India that had done more to convince the natives of "the justice of England's rule." The measure only affected the status of half-a-dozen native civilians. Though these were eventually placed on the same legal status as their European confreres, the equality was nullified by the concession granted to European accused to demand a jury on his trial—a right which has not been accorded to natives. Thus *The Times* proceeds to argue :—

"The mischief of Lord Ripon's policy, as has been frequently pointed out, is that it did not achieve, and could by no possibility have achieved, any practical results commensurate with the excitement produced in the native mind, with the danger to the stability of Anglo-Indian institutions from the awakening of hopes which cannot be realized—at least, until England resigns her Empire—and with the injury to India by terrifying and driving out English capital and enterprise. As a matter of fact, the Bill, as it finally became law, did not even satisfy the ambitions of "the small and dwindling class" of native covenanted civilians, with whose sentimental grievances it professed to deal, while, it is needless to say, it did not even touch the large and vague aspirations which Lord Ripon rashly invited to soaring flights, and which, if he had remained in India, he would have had to bring down abruptly to the level of the working world."

This is a heavy indictment against the late Viceroy. But it is an indictment, which, if it be considered an indictment at all, must lie against the modern spirit of progress, and not against any statesman, whether he is a Ripon or a Dufferin. If the Ilbert Bill only consulted the sentiment of half-a-dozen natives, the loud clamour raised by the Anglo-Indian world was perfectly unintelligible. The fact is it affected the privilege and *amour propare* of the Anglo-Indians on the one side, and the legitimate aspiration and the legal and moral status of some important native functionaries on the other. Had the former been generous they would have allowed the Bill to pass as originally framed, and let the experience of its working tell its own tale. For it was admitted by our Anglo-Indian brethren themselves that the Bill favoured no more than half-a-dozen persons. Moreover, it was a concession the necessity of which was felt so far back as Lord Dalhousie's regime. And yet no sooner did we mark the lamentable excitement throughout India we—a native journalist willingly brought forward a plan for soothing concessions, the main portion of which when the time for a settlement came was found feasible enough. It is a mistake to suppose that "what was given with one hand was taken "back with the other." The weight of what was held in the hand to be

given away was reduced, but certainly not taken off. A native judge will thus be a check on a jury of arbitrary tendencies. If any large number of natives really desired to have the right of calling a jury for themselves, it will probably be accorded to them. If the concession has been overridden by the new privileges granted, where is the harm done to large interests that it has still left such a bitter feeling behind, and to which *The Times* has again given vent?

The secret, however, of Lord Ripon's lasting calumny in *The Times* is not far to seek. Why should he have preached at all that Natives have equal rights with Europeans in India, when it is known, as a matter of course, that the former cannot now be made governors or commissioners, and that if the right of equality in law is admitted, though it cannot possibly be in respect of expediency, there would be no reason why the English should not transfer their power to the Baboos of Bengal and quit India? The accusation made against Lord Ripon that, in granting a very small concession, he imported general principles covering far wider and more perilous innovations, is not correct. The bitter opposition of Anglo-Indians against a very small rational measure of justice was really the cause of the exposition which has always annoyed our revered contemporary in London. Lord Ripon was no doubt guilty of operating—to a very slight extent however—upon his doctrines of English Liberalism, in a backward country like India; and here is the real gravamen of *The Times'* charge against Lord Ripon. But we may deferentially ask our contemporary, where is the evil of Lord Ripon having honestly and cautiously avowed his professions which, as put into practice by him, were only "ludicrously inadequate"? It is true that "Lord Ripon's practice, as compared with his " principle, was extremely deficient." That he should have so slowly put his principle into practice, illustrates the moderation with which he worked in India in giving effect to measures of freedom and progress. The circumstance reflects credit on him, and not discredit. No legislative measure can be brought forward without explaining the policy and principle of the government on which it is based. The more such a measure is discussed and agitated upon, the better is such a policy exposed to light. It is contended that he raised dangerous aspirations, knowing that it would be impossible to fulfil them, merely that a vain sentiment of a handful of native civilians may be gratified. If such a sentiment existed and was gratified, then surely the other one logically following it, according

o our contemporary, ought to have also existed and asserted itself. That other sentiment being that personal qualifications would justify the appointment of natives to governorships, lieutenant-governorships, and chief commissionerships. "If these be open to the natives, on what grounds can it "be insisted that the Commander-in-Chief or the Viceroy himself must be "an Englishman? It is impossible to answer except by asserting those "principles of Angló-Indian Government which Lord Ripon would seem "to ignore and deny. The education of the natives of India has given "birth, we admit, to aspirations which, within the limits of reason and "prudence, it is well to satisfy; but it is dangerous to lay down general "principles of abstract right which, if logically applied, would transfer the "control of the administrative machine in India from Englishmen to the "Baboos of Bengal." Here is the cat out of the bag. India has put forth no such pretensions in any form worth noting. *The Times*, however, just does what it scolds Lord Ripon for doing, though he has really not done it. We think a penal enactment might here suggest itself in the interests of any English Ruler who ventures to unfold the beneficent policy of Her Majesty's Government on whatever pretext, if it be true that such disasters as *The Times* mentions are likely to follow from the exposition of a liberal policy. In following a kind, a just, an enlightened, and a moderate policy, our government cannot muster up all the dismal forebodings of an excited imagination. It is enough that a sound, wise, and progressive policy is followed. No one can control future results—and it would be futile to do so. All which is necessary to be done is not deliberately to permit evil influences in the administration to gather strength. The Government know well how to nullify them. Their mission is to see that while the extreme of the reactionary or standstill party is not adopted, the gross proclivities of the fast patriots of India are not also encouraged. But for the reason of that the spirit of progress cannot now be quenched. India cannot be kept under lock and key, while the better countries of the world are ever on the move. For her own safety and prosperity she must not only share in the world's progress, but contribute to the well-being of her neighbours to save herself from interior and exterior poverty and dangers. It is indispensable to always have a clear vision of Her Majesty's policy in India, and to understand how far it could be acted upon with due regar to existing circumstances. We cannot permit our healthy pro strangled, because some of our 'opponents conjure up

political emancipation, which have never been seriously entertained by us. An abstract right of exercising the higher functions of State may be safely urged both by the rulers and the ruled, though, in each instance, its application has to be well considered. But if such abstract rights may theoretically mean that it is within the province of a native to become a governor, or a lieutenant-governor, it would not practically mean that no question of admitting fit natives into offices higher than they now occupy could be discussed or acted upon. *The Times'* argument, however, lands us into this fallacious position. It is much to be regretted that the estimate of the great journal of the noble and memorable work done by one of its own distinguished countrymen in a foreign and very difficult country should be so unfair and intemperate.—15*th March*, 1885.

The Banquet at St. James's Hall.

The most important of all the popular demonstrations held in honour of Lord Ripon on his return home from India was the banquet given him, on February 25, by the National Liberal Club, in St. James's Hall, Piccadilly. Upwards of 800 noblemen and gentlemen with an equal number of ladies were present, the Hall being tastefully decorated with flowers and tall palms artistically arranged with all the contrasts of bright colours attainable. The toast of "the Queen, Empress of India," was given by the Chairman, the Earl of Kimberley, soon after the dinner. The first speech was made by Lord Hartington in responding for the Army. He spoke in terms of the highest praise of the valour displayed and the hardships borne by British Generals, recently in Egypt, and previously in Afghanistan. "Rarely, if ever," he said, "have the physical difficulties been exceeded, "which our troops have been encountering in the valley of the Nile since the "beginning of August last, and rarely, if ever, have British troops had to "encounter in battle a braver or a more determined foe. It is difficult at "this moment to say which feeling predominates in our mind—whether it "be of regret for these gallant men, officers, non-commissioned officers, and "privates whom we have lost, or pride in the achievements which they and "their comrades have performed. The name of General Gordon belongs "not to the Army alone, but to the nation, and will always be treasured "among us." This is a poor consolation to the numerous people in India and England who, rightly or wrongly, hold that a faithful and trusting national hero like Gordon could have been saved, and that the campaign

in Egypt have been more firmly dealt with to the advantage of all parties concerned in it, had not the Government been vacillating on account of their preconceived theories. It was not enough to have dwelt on the noble, unselfish and heroic deeds of General Gordon and his military compatriots who have given their lives in their country's cause. We should have liked to satisfy ourselves that no reasonable precautions and vigilance adopted by the Government would have effected the relief of Khartoum. The blood and treasure of the country should not be spent merely in the pursuit of impractical doctrines of Liberalism or Radicalism when it is likely that in practice they might prove untenable. When the Egyptian affair is closed, the world will no doubt be anxious to know the relevancy of the reasons which led the present Government to follow the policy which ended in the betrayal and murder of General Gordon. It is satisfactory to find Lord Hartington avowing that though Lord Ripon did not succeed in getting the home Government to adopt his scheme of réforming the Armies of Hindustan, their efficiency was not decreased but strengthened during his regime. Here, again, we are left in the dark as to what the proposals of Lord Ripon were to the Home Government. There can be no doubt that the Government in England have been tardy in recognizing the necessity of gradually reforming the military resources of both Afghanistan and the Native States of India. The interests of India have clearly demanded that between it and the Russians there should exist an independent nation with an extensive country always interested in offering an insurmountable barrier to the Russian aggression on whatever pretext. But we may possibly have to notice this point when we come to the views expressed on it by Lord Ripon himself.

Lord Northbrook, in replying for the Navy, mentioned a singular act of heroism by Lord Beresford, who "has had the good fortune which every officer so ardently desires of being mentioned with praise in the despatches of Lord Wolseley for his plucky conduct in entering and repairing a steamer, to the best of my belief about the size of one of the penny steamers on the Thames, in front of the enemy's battery, and by the help of his gardner gun, keeping that battery in check without any 'severe loss to the crew of that ship." It is by such plucky and persevering acts that the British nation have gained their present predominance in the world. The best of them, when the critical hour came, have not grudged to sacrifice their lives in the cause of their country, and it is both by intellect and [illegible]

that they have conquered half the world. Supposing a sanguinary conflict ensued in Afghanistan and Herat to-morrow, who are the princes and noblemen of India who would think of abandoning their ease and luxury, and lead a brave army against the Russians, or the hostile tribes and Sirdars who are bent, once more on producing anarchy in Afghanistan ? We may call upon our Government to induce some of our noblemen to share in the military glories, whether of peace or of war. And we may also call upon our aristocracy to come forward and boldly ask the Government to take them into their military ranks. It is a matter of deep shame to this country that it cannot repose a little faith in the best of its valiant sons to direct the tactics of the smallest English column in the time of a battle. Lord Northbrook stated from a true conviction that the policy followed by Lord Ripon in India was not only one which he cordially approved, but was also essentially one which all statesmen, to whatever creed they belonged, ought implicitly to follow. The fact that Lord Northbrook ruled India on the mixed principles of the two great parties in England lends much weight to his utterance. Whatever the ways of applying these principles by different statesmen on different occasions, none of them, unless hopelessly incompetent, can ever lose from his sight the great object of Providence in entrusting the destinies of India to the most favoured nation of the world. It is a matter of sincere congratulation that a nobleman has succeeded Lord Ripon in India who is sure to make a name in achieving both moral and material ends in binding together and strengthening the straggling nations of India, always to be illumined by the light from England, till that light is for ever blended with the light of the East.

Sir William Harcourt replied to the toast of "the Government" given by the Earl of Cowper. He took credit for the Government for the work done by Lord Ripon in India as being a truly "imperial" one, differing from the imperialism "meant in the bastard notion of modern times," and expressed the sense of gratitude and admiration felt by the Government to one "who has been their trusted colleague and who is my friend of many years, for the great services which he has rendered to this country in the imperial task which he had so long discharged." Sir William proceeded to explain the true import of imperialism such as would befit England of present times :—

I use the word Imperial task advisedly. I know it is sometimes charged against the Liberal party that they have no Imperial sympathies, that they are incapable of the Imperial

spirit and the Imperial idea. I dispute that statement altogether. If you mean by Imperialism the bastard notion of modern times, why, then, I admit it ; but if what you intend by the Imperial idea is that which was comprehended by that great governing people which most resemble, I think, in its qualities and in its spirit the English nation—I speak of the Roman Empire—then I think I can say that the Liberal party repudiates any such idea. On the contrary, I venture to affirm that it is its true representative. (Cheers.) What was the Imperial idea which inspired the Government of the Empire of Rome ? Will any one say that it was the extention of territory ? Will any one say that it was additional conquest ? Why that is to falsify history altogether. If you look into that famous chapter which opens the immortal work of Gibbon you will find that he speaks of the moderation of Augustus, that he states that the man who founded the Empire of Rome and who consolidated its strength was the man who, throughout his life, resisted, and in his last testimony bequeathed to his successor the principle that the limits of the Empire should not be enlarged. (Cheers.) There is a celebrated writer of antiquity, himself an Emperor, who places in the mouth of Augustus, when he died, some memorable words. They are short, but they are so applicable to the Government of India and to the administration of Lord Ripon that I will venture to take leave to read them. He makes Augustus to say—" I have not sought to beget one war out of another. I have thought I have done more wisely in employing all my time in the reformation of the laws and the reformation of disorders, in doing which I consider that I have not acted less well than any of those who have preceded me. And even, if I may speak with frankness, I have surpassed all those who have ever governed great empires." That is an Imperial idea ; it was the conception of Imperial Rome, which the Liberal party can well acknowledge and can be proud to carry out.

We think some fallacy is involved in a too confident comparison instituted with ancient kingdoms as in relation to any large empire of modern times. What was accomplished by despotic sovereigns of the Roman Empire, or even what was conceived by them, cannot fairly be held as an example to be followed in the modern constitution of an empire. Had there been an emperor of a different temperament in the place of Augustus, he would very likely have directed Imperialism in a direction wide apart from that attempted by the latter. If a comparison is to hold good, all conditions and circumstances should be scrupulously alike in both instances. It is difficult to believe that the features of the Empire of Great Britain are like those of the Empire of Augustus. He had hardly such foreign provocations and responsibilities as England has to deal with now in the sheer necessity of self-preservation and self-prosperity. The needs and obligations of the greatest empire in present times are widely different from those of any of the old empires which had not known such a vigorous and universal growth as of to-day. What Augustus could have [illegible] to do in his times, the Queen-Empress could [illegible] do in [illegible]

when there is such a close competition among a number of powerful States, whose will is based on a military prowess ever-growing. The fact is that the Conservatives have perhaps too deliberately used Imperialism, while the Liberals have not till they have been brought to the last extremity But that the Liberals can develop this quality to as great an extent as the other party, no one can doubt. We shall probably for a long time to come fail to meet the ends of Imperialism ; for, Great Britain, with all her Liberalism, is in as great a danger of losing its influence and prestige as any great Power in Europe, on its foreign relations being neglected or half-understood. Had Sir William Harcourt given us a precise definition of Imperialism, of its reality and its counterfeit, we should have better understood it than by the means of a very remote comparison. At any rate I agree with Sir William in the following eulogy he passed on Lord Ripon, in which he seems to perceive the inferior form of Imperialism which the late Viceroy so well avoided following in his work in India :—

He had some illustrious predecessors in whose steps he has trod. They were men who in their exertions for the native population incurred similar obloquy to his own. Macaulay, at the end of that brilliant essay upon Lord Clive, speaks of the man whom he was commemorating. He said :—" His name stands high on the roll of conquerors ; but it is found in a better list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and Trajan, nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generation of Hindoos will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck." And if Macaulay had written a few years later, he would have added another name—I mean the name of Lord Canning, a man who in the time of danger and difficulty had such magnanimity and mercy that he was assailed with that which was regarded as a title of reproach, the title of " Clemency" Canning—a name which will remain to him forever as the most imperishable monument of his fame. Lord Ripon has understood the meaning of those great examples, and it is because he has had the courage in the same cause to encounter the same obloquy that we are here to welcome him and to thank him to-night. It is because he has understood what the Emperors of Rome did not understand—that it is not enough to dominate races by the force to your arms, or even by holding them down by the weight of your laws, but that, if you are to found an empire which is not to crumble away in a decline and fall such as that which overtook the Roman, you must discover how, in some manner or other, you can find your way to the hearts of the people you rule. (Cheers.) It is a hard lesson to human pride to learn ; and though, no doubt, there is no task of statesmanship more difficult than that which attempts to reconcile the pride of a subject people, it is that task which Lord Ripon has attempted, and in which he has largely succeeded, and it is because he has accomplished so God-like a mission that we are here to welcome and to thank him.

The Earl of Derby, responding to the toast of "the Houses of Parliament," said that Lord Ripon exercised his functions so justly that he became unmindful of the personal consequences he had to endure. However prejudiced were those who opposed him, the people of England, by the honours which they have paid him, have shown that they were not affected by their alarm. The Earl considered it to be the duty of every statesman of England to rule India for the Indians, and if they would ever give a greater share to the Indians, to conduct their administration, it will not be because the British people were not fit to govern them, but because no one could better understand and appreciate native feelings and wants than the natives themselves. When the latter receive the same enlightenment as the people of England, India could not be kept by the British unless it was allowed rights and privileges commensurate with the new aspirations raised.

From Sir Charles Dilke's speech we infer that Lord Ripon has been throughout his political career an advanced Liberal—even a Radical, which he does not fear to acknowledge that he has been. In fact the principles which he unflinchingly carried out in India he had also deliberately advocated in England. It was very wise, however, on the part of Lord Ripon that he did not openly avow his radicalism while here. If he had done so he would have damaged the cause of India. His excellent merit was that while at heart he was a Radical, he showed the capacity of acting as if he was a Conservative-Liberal. Sir Charles Dilke said :—"He was a man whom they were all proud to recognize as one born to rule—as a matter of fact he was born in Downing-street itself, and if a man born there was not born to rule, he did not know who was."

However eloquent were the other speeches, none was so remarkable for fulness, for lucidity, and for temperateness as that of the Indian Secretary of State. It must be read to be appreciated. It is a masterly, sympathetic and generous vindication of Lord Ripon's acts in India. Except in one little matter, that Lord Lytton's action with regard to a small part of the vernacular press was entirely uncalled for, according to the Earl, the approbation accorded to Lord Ripon will at once command the assent of all unprejudiced men. He pointed out with conclusive arguments that what Lord Ripon attempted in India was exactly in consonance with the spirit and principles which have guided Her Majesty's Go[illegible] from the earliest date, and with the character and [illegible] his [illegible] [illegible]uished

predecessors, of whom history has left a happy remembrance. There was nothing novel or striking in his acts, and though he refused to base his policy on mere expediency—and so based it on the principles which he cherished—he did nothing more than continue the administration on the old lines which have always been widely approved of. He did not rule India as a partizan would have ruled—which would undoubtedly have been a misfortune. It will aways redound to the best credit of India if its Viceroys, by whomsoever they may be appointed, ruled the country without being influenced by any particular tie. Let the Viceroy of the time steadily keep in view what would be the best thing for India, and that would not be too much for him to carry out in virtue of his responsible and distinguished office. As we Indians have been so much pleased with the late Viceroyalty, so are we also pleased with the general and warm esteem in which our acts of loyalty and appreciation caused by Lord Ripon has been held in England. It must cause us peculiar gratification to read the concluding portion of the Earl's speech :—

His noble friend endeavoured to provide for equal justice to all before the law, and he received the unwavering and hearty support of Her Majesty's Government throughout the whole of the business, believing as they did that the principles upon which he was acting were right. Lord Ripon had brought back with him to this country the universal esteem of millions upon millions of our fellow-subjects. Wherever he went in India crowds of natives came round him to show their appreciation of the benefits which he had conferred upon them. If he had no other title to their gratitude to place his rule high among that of Indian Viceroys he would secure it in that, for it was no easy thing for an alien ruler like our Viceroy to touch the hearts of men of another race, and to touch them in the unmistakable manner in which his noble friend had touched them. Lord Ripon by his policy had done more than any one else to strengthen the loyalty of the natives of India to the Crown and to strengthen the foundations of our Indian Empire, and he gave them the toast of Lord Ripon's health, with the sincere belief that when history had passed its verdict upon his administration it would be found recorded as one of the greatest and brightest of the Viceroyalties of our Indian Empire.

It is noteworthy that Lord Ripon had the full sympathy of the Home Government in his struggles to get the Ilbert Bill passed, though like him the Home authorities, while being firm, took precious care not to exasperate the Anglo-Indian feelings. It may be remembered that my own attitude, while feelings on both sides were running high, and while superior light was absent among the public, tended towards the adoption of a moderate reform by certain measures of conciliation which I was first to suggest.

I now pass on to the speech of the hero of the hour—I, of course, mean our late beloved, god-like Viceroy. He said he still maintained his life-long

adherence to the great Liberal party of England. While explaining this he was induced to declare that the cheers "were a good augury of the speedy determination of the great issue whether this country is to be governed by Lord Salisbury or Mr. Gladstone." Both the Earl of Kimberley and Lord Ripon warmly upheld the evacuation of Afghanistan as an event which has secured a friendly country on our borders—no doubt a very essential thing for India. It cannot be denied for one moment that a friendly Afghanistan is essential at the present moment for the security of India, and that the best way to keep a country very friendly to a neighbouring power is not to violate its independence. Lord Ripon says that because he evacuated Candahar, Afghanistan is friendly to-day, which is very useful just now, considering the present conflict with Russia. Both the high authorities have, no doubt, tried to give us a simple view of this difficult problem. If we want the Afghans to be friendly to us, we also wish them to become powerful and make use of their power as much for their interests as for ours. We should like to be satisfied if this has been done by the evacuation of Candahar. It is presumed that the British generosity shown has been the means of giving us a friendly ally to interpose between us and the Russians. Abdur Rahaman had been shown sufficient friendliness when he was placed on the Cabul *gadi.* But that measure does not seem to have made him strong enough to menace Russia, instead of Russia menacing India as it actually does now. Our abandoning Afghanistan altogether has not made it strong enough to punish Russia for its audacity in coolly appropriating portions of the Afghanistan territories. If Afghanistan has been made strong, where was the use of sending out a Commission to define its own boundaries, while Russia has continued descending on the Amir's country in spite of that Commission. We abhor the idea of carrying on a war in a neighbour's country, but when it was sanctioned by the parent country, that country ought not to have stultified itself by subsequently falling into the other extreme. I wrote a work and pointed out that nothing like annexation or anything approaching it was then to be carried out. But when a ruler assumed to be friendly to us was placed on the throne, and while we had strongly established ourselves in that country, the task of an active and disinterested warden had inevitably come upon us, which could not be avoided without doing injury to Afghanistan as well as India. You gave over the whole country to the Amir, and blessed him every year with a large amount of money. Though you knew him to [illegible] of serving

the highest interests for which he was chosen you thought that all would go right by merely leaving him a perfect master of Afghanistan. There was not the slightest objection to his becoming a perfect master of his own dominions. But where was the harm to show him, when he got the *gadi* with our own help, how best he could render his position impregnable by allowing the British Government to reorganize his military and to place their own army of watch in Candahar, which he would gladly have allowed to be occupied? A great politician-statesman might have been deputed, who would have succeeded in giving some intelligible constitution to the Amir, and preventing the frittering away of his resources for the five years which have elapsed since Russia first tampered with Afghanistan. She has now actually encroached upon its territories. It seems to us much safer and more economic to guide Afghanistan disinterestedly rather than allow it to squander its resources unassisted by an experienced neighbouring power. It would be superfluous to mention how British intervention can be made thoroughly beneficial and in no wise injurious to Afghanistan. We need not grudge, however, to extend every confidence to the absolute reversal of policy effected by Lord Ripon soon after his arrival in the country. We shall now let the fast-approaching results to tell us the effect of that policy. The entire effect can only be gauged on a war breaking out in Afghanistan, which every party of course would wish to avoid. It is then to be seen if the Afghans and other tribes would side with the Russians, or with ourselves, and whether they would support Abdur Rahaman as an ally of India or somebody else as a creature of the Russians. Lord Ripon's statement, in reference to his relations with Native States, I may fully endorse. The Nizam of Hyderabad owes a good deal to his generous policy, and we shall have to watch with interest for some time to come the consequences of entrusting full powers to two very young and promising noblemen—the Nizam himself and his Minister Sir Salar Jung. I hope in course of time that State may take its rank among the foremost model States in India. No serious politician ever believed that Russia had tampered with the loyalty of some of our native states. Lord Ripon inquired of this privately before leaving India, and was satisfied that the rumours were ridiculous. I trust somebody may trace the rumour to its source at least to ascertain in what manner was it possible for Russia to open any communication with any of the native states in India. Though a Liberal, Lord Ripon did not fail to

tender good advice to native chiefs when they needed it, and that was undoubtedly for their good. I can cordially bear out the assertion of Lord Ripon that "there never was a time at which the native princes of India were more loyal to our gracious Sovereign than they are to-day."

The most important part of Lord Ripon's speech referred to the pledges given by the British Government in respect of the broad and liberal policy to be always applied in governing India. His Lordship pointed out the Charter Act of 1833 and the debates which preceded it in both Houses of Parliament as the foundation work of his attitude in India. It was at that period that a free introduction of Europeans into this country was permitted with certain declarations of policy in their reference; and to this circumstance Lord Ripon did well in drawing attention. I agree with him that the changes effected in India on account of the spread of education, extension of railways, and the working of a free Press have been so great that their real meaning can hardly be realized by those whom we know to have been much prejudiced by the spirit of conservatism. The bulk of Indian officials, owing to their immediate contact with the practical work of the country and their individual inhabitants, cannot possibly breathe any very healthy liberalism in the interests of the various communities. They cannot possibly be the warm advocates of a sympathetic and generous policy, which generally emanates from statesmen possessed of large opportunities. It was natural, therefore, for Lord Ripon, while ruling India, to find out what were the object and aim of Providence in vesting its interests in a nation superior in both moral and physical strength to the natives of India. It was quite right for him to have selected the primitive principles of first purity, which had latterly been emphasised by the Queen's Government. These principles, as he said, "remain always the same. The mode of application must *depend upon the circumstances of the time and the subject with which* the Government has to deal." The practical and modifying spirit which will always influence the Viceroys will place a great curb on the spirit of progress characterizing the British administration. The strongest opponent of Lord Ripon as representing Anglo-India—we mean the *Times*—perceived ultimate dangers in his avowing the principles which sent out the famous Charter to India. But these principles have been clearly admitted to have been applied under conditional circumstances. It was a very little thing—it was the safest thing to have sought the investment

of half-a-dozen competent native civilians with the same jurisdictionary authority already exercised by their European brother-officials. When this extension of a slight privilege was *violently opposed*, *the principles* underlying that step necessarily came into relief. The question was not to what extent such privileges could be accorded to Indians ; the real point at issue was whether it was safe, while we were permitted to enjoy the same moral and mental freedom as Englishmen did in their own native country, to deny the natives who showed *their fitness*, *the advancement* earned by them by their own individual merits and qualifications. Lord Ripon, therefore, showed a wise forethought in practically recognizing the gradual application of the principles more than once solemnly affirmed by the British Nation. They cannot now thrust back India, and they cannot turn it into their enemies by telling the natives, who exert in qualifying themselves for the discharge of high functions, that their legitimate and temperately asserted aspirations cannot be fulfilled. Discourage them by devising as severe tests as you can in the interests of the country, but those who are found answering the tests should not certainly be discouraged. If even such men are discouraged they cannot, as Lord Ripon said, turn out the supporters of the Government. This is certainly not the method to promote good government and enhance and cheapen its functions—which is daily becoming a greater necessity for this large, complicated and poor country. If Great Britain cannot uphold its prestige and maintain its influence without India, then it is this spirit which has to be followed by the parent country not merely to obtain succour for itself, but to secure the freedom and integrity of the Indian Empire. If that high and abiding spirit were to be neglected, ruin would await both the mother and the subject countries. We shall do well by quoting here the concluding words of Lord Ripon's *fair and manly speech* :—

The noble Marquis proceeded to refer to some of the principal measures of his administration, including the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, the extension of railway communication, the reduction of taxation, and particularly the tax on salt. But these duties, he remarked, were not the only duties intrusted to the British Government in India. They must desire faithfully and honestly to fulfil the great task which God had imposed upon England when He gave her the Indian Empire to rule. They must set before themselves yet higher aims, and endeavour to the utmost of their power to give to their fellow-subjects in India the rich stores of their own knowledge and civilization, fitting them in increased numbers to take part in the management of their own affairs, and admitting them gradually to those positions to which they themselves had taught them to aspire. It was only by such a policy they could maintain the good faith of

England and redeem the pledges of the Crown. By such a policy alone they could extend and deepen the loyalty to our gracious Sovereign which was so widely spread throughout India, and which it was a deep satisfaction to him to believe that during the five years of his Indian administration he did something to consolidate. (Loud cheers.)

The veteran reformer and the people's orator, Mr. John Bright, made a pretty long speech about our country in replying to the toast of "Prosperity to India." This speech takes us more to the ultimatum of British sovereignty in India than any of the preceding ones. It is always interesting to note what liberal statesmen may have to state on this point from time to time, for it cannot be accepted without subjecting it to certain broad practical tests which have to be drawn from existing facts. The argument of Mr. Bright should, therefore, be looked into, for it does great credit to his heart. He said all India and England and all Anglo-Indians and Britishers would accept that toast with unanimity, acclamation and cordiality. And yet when the means by which such prosperity can be attained are discussed, many of those who would heartily join the toast would also condemn the measures which a great officer like Lord Ripon might think it necessary to introduce in India. He contended that India can only be governed by England in what are the sacred interests of the people of India, which cannot be otherwise ruled. The reason of this he thus put in plain terms :—

"We should put ourselves in the position of the natives of India, and ask ourselves what we should say if we were there, a part of 200 millions, and were told, as several people have said, and many have said, by their action—that these 200 millions of people are to be governed by a privileged small class, a handful of men coming from some remote island, eight or ten thousand miles away, and that the interests of this handful of men should be considered and their clamour listened to, against the wisdom of the Government of Calcutta, the Parliament of England, the promises of the Crown, and the sympathies of the great masses."

Yes, it will always be safe to consult the wishes of the Crown, the Parliament and the masses at large, whenever any serious difference arose between the people of India and the Anglo-Indians. Mr. Bright has strikingly explained the present position of the people of India, though it is still a matter of doubt whether a handful of the most enlightened and powerful race can be compared at a low standard which the immense heterogeneous population of India for the present indicates. The British conquerors will, from sheer necessity, assume a commanding position in India, the gross features of which the Crown and the Parliam[illegible] of England, from their freeness from local prejudices [illegible] ys have to erase from the broader assertion of [illegible]

the numerous conflicting elements in India will for a long time to come require the watch and direction of the Lord Paramount in the Indian interests themselves. It is thus that Mr. Bright's syllogism may not stand quite well in the eyes of those reasoning from a knowledge on the spot. To show the influence of English education in India Mr. Bright narrated what was spoken to him by two natives of India sometime ago :—" I met several years ago two most educated and accomplished natives of that country ; and they were describing to me the manner in which the English language is spreading. One of them said, 'I believe in a short time—within the next few years—there will be as many people in India who know and will read Milton and Shakespeare, as there are now in England.' The other gentleman then turned round to me and said, 'I think there are as many now.'" It is needless to point out how very exaggerated was the view placed before Mr. Bright. It may not do any harm ; but it can hardly do any good. It will surely require many years yet before India can have as many English-knowing people as England has. And it will take a much longer period in attaining that popular highly-developed culture which has been acquired by England. I entirely agree with Mr. Bright when he states that the literature from the West will transform the idolatrous religion of India ; but this will yet take time. When the people have mended their social and religious systems they will be led to struggle for political reforms more than they have yet done. The general political freedom will take place not soon after the spread of Western civilization, but after the spread of social and religious reforms. I hope to have pointed out in a few words one great misconception under which some liberal-minded Englishmen so often labour. Mr. Bright naturally feels apprehensive of what would be the results on native minds of the effects of Western education and literature which have transformed the religion, the politics and the material condition of the people of England. "They would not inquire very much because they would know that it was not difficult for a foreign country like this, with trained military men and the power of engaging the military services of the natives of India, to build up a great Empire. But they would say, 'This is ancient history.'" As I have already stated, no danger need be apprehended from the mere spread of education, for a good many forces should be generated from that agency before the natives can make any formidable resolutions calculated to change the very basis of the Indian Empire.

Mr. Bright understands that a small community like the British is not permanently destined to rule such a large country as India. It is not useful to go into this question just now, for it will not be a practical task always precisely to keep in view any ultimatum of this sort, whether in favour of, or adverse to, India, while the business of its administration is carried on. *A remote result is generally left to the working of Providence*, while the current affairs are managed in the best light possible. Mr. Bright is quite right in saying that the administrators of India should cultivate a spirit like that of the late Governor-General. There will be then many more Ilbert Bills and a greater general development of Government. "The Government, if it be so, will be far better, it will be less costly, and it will be more acceptable to the people, and less humiliating, for it will make the best of their people joint rulers with some of the best of ours. It will, therefore, be the more enduring." Here is some tangible result rightly anticipated and pointed out by Mr. Bright, which may be very cordially endorsed. *And I may confidently* ask the rulers, great and small, to pursue the liberal learnings indicated by Mr. Bright. In dwelling upon the poverty of India the Right Hon'ble gentleman referred to the work published on the subject of India by the Secretary of the National Liberal Club. The salient points of it were stated by him as below :—

"It will refer to two points in a single sentence. One is the extremely fearful poverty which prevails over a large portion of the population of India. The barest food, and the lowest, comfortable shelter in any workhouse in this country would be palatial treatment to millions of the population of India—(cheers)—and during the present century it is stated that there have died of famine in India a larger number of persons than all the men that have fallen in all the wars which have been waged during that course of time throughout the globe."

If such is the magnitude of the work to be done in India it is absurd not to multiply native agencies in the higher paths of our administration and to effectually amend the constitution of the country. True, India *needs several capable statesmen like Mr. Gladstone as Mr. Bright* hinted ; but the greater the number of such workers introduced; the sterner will be the necessity felt to increase efficient native agencies. I cannot do better than quote here the whole of the concluding passage of Mr. Bright's speech :—

"What we want in India is the sympathy of our friend here, the late Governor-General of India, permeating the hearts and feelings of the Englishmen in India. If you do so change the *hearts and create a feeling of sympathy, I am quite* sure it will do more to perpetuate or lead to a longer continuance of the English rule in India than the despatch of many regiments of

soldiers. (Cheers.) What we want to see—I shall not live to see it, but there are many her who will have to see a great deal—what I hope for is that in the coming time we may have th best intellects of India working with Englishmen earnestly for the good of India and the honou of England. (Cheers.) How great will be the results for good I cannot describe, or probabl can't imagine, but I am sure the results for good will be great to the countless millions who fo the time—be it short or long—are under the influence and subject to the English Crown. (Cheers. The subject of India is a very great one in my estimation. The mystery we cannot fathom, b which that country, with its vast population, has been subjected to the rule of this country, i one of those things of which history gives us no example, and if we did not see it, we could no imagine it could come in the future. But it has come—not by reason of the prowess or violence or military spirit of this generation, but of our forefathers, and we at any rate, unless we surrende it, it may be to its confusion and its difficulties, are bound to do all that the best intellect o the country, the most honourable sentiment, and the most moral feeling, can do to raise as muc as we can the population of that country, and to give them the belief that we wish them goo rather than wish to complete our greatness upon their subjection and their sufferings. (Lou cheers.) It is because I believe that Lord Ripon, our honoured guest, has gone as far as it wa possible for him in that post of eminence which he occupied to do, and has done that which i becomes every Englishman to do that I am tendering him my thanks." (Cheers.)

But the British administrators and the leading natives of India hav only to be guided in all difficult positions, and in all emergencies, by th safe beacon Mr. Bright has so happily placed before our vision as it give me such pride and pleasure to quote him here. But that beacon has to be more constantly and more firmly kept in view than it has hitherto been, and in many more directions indeed than those meagrely observed till now. We may then find in our native population so many armies for the support of the British in India, while no foe of theirs will have the impudence of menacing our peace. It may not be possible for a long time to come to press in practical service broad and generous theories in their entirety and without modifications in due regard to actual facts and circumstances; but unless our Rulers steadily maintain the light of these theories even with a certain amount of sacrifice in the interests of general good, I doubt very much the value of weak or forced loyalty that is not provided with the only useful basis of united moral and material forces to be cordially generated in the enfeebled and distracted nations of India. As the other powers of Europe and Asia become materially freer and stronger to act in the world, should the British Government proportionally take every community and every native prince into greater confidence, and, while granting them a greater scope for regeneration, prosperity and renown, should found their own enhanced strength and inviolability

in the reform and unity of their own subjects. Such a mixed and accurately weighed method can alone succeed in rendering Great Britain and its Eastern Empire permanently inviolate. It is pleasing to me to be cognizant of the fact that this conception of the national duty of India and England is more readily appreciated by the present generation, both Europeans and Natives, than it was fifteen or twenty years ago, when so many of my political propositions were felt but little removed from a dreamy region!—*29th March*, 1885.

Lord Reay in Bombay and his Deputationists.

THE *Rast Goftar*, the leading vernacular journal of the Bombay presidency, was right in urging the other day that when a new Governor set his foot in Bombay, its leaders must be prepared to give him a welcome address, bringing to his notice the various wants and wishes of the Presidency. The suggestion appears to have been timely taken up. The best leading man of Bombay—the young, highly promising, and patriotic Parsi Baronet—delivered a public address himself to Lord Reay, our new Governor, in behalf of the Presidency Association. The address partook of a general character and was, perhaps, a little fuller than a majority of such addresses, as we have been used to find them. Except in one respect —*and that a vital one in the present times—we consider the address to be a* satisfactory document remembering that such general addresses cannot entertain any question of detail and can deal only with the general state of affairs. The condition being so, we cannot but express our sorrow that the influential deputation which waited on Lord Reay made but a passing allusion to the gravest crisis the whole of India, which this Association may be said to represent, is now passing through. When the present Viceroy was on the way out for India—when no one, perhaps, had dreamed of the present Indo-Russian complications—we had strongly urged the Bombay gentlemen to forget for a while their insular aspirations and vigorously bring to the notice of the Viceroy-elect the most serious deficiencies of the various defences of the Indian Empire especially marked in the mistrust shown towards Native Princes by letting their fine armies in the abyss of complete ruin and stagnation. All that the Bombay leaders were pleased to do was to make a passing allusion to the defences of the Bombay harbour. Matters on the frontier have since suddenly assumed a most threatening aspect. And how do the Bombay

deputation deal with them now? They deal with them at the conclusion of their address, and deal it in a manner as if a slight famine had been passing over a part of the country, which need not interrupt the considerations of the course of some happy internal development of the country! We may allow our readers to see that passage for themselves :—

"In conclusion, my lord, we are aware, that while we are directing your lordship's attention to the several measures of internal reform above indicated, grave complications have arisen in the foreign relations of the Government of India which may, perhaps, involve the country in hostility with a great European Power on the borders of Afghanistan. But, my lord, we are so confident of the loyalty of our countrymen to the generous rule of Britain, their recognition of the great resources and strength of the British Empire, and their firm faith in the liberal principles which animate British rule, that we think the gravity of the situation need in no way interfere with the progress of the internal reforms herienabove sketched. And on the other hand, we are also sure that the Government, which was able in the dark days of 1857 to establish universities in this country, will not suffer the Anglo-Russian complications to stand in the way of those liberalizing changes which are called for by the progressive conditions of the times.

"With these short and humble expressions of our views we bid Lady Reay and your lordship a hearty welcome."

We should like to have a single historical instance in which an Empire may have enjoyed immunity from foreign aggressions merely on account of the lip loyalty of its subjects, or the liberality and generosity of its rule. The existence of these qualities must be very short-lived in the presence of a thoroughly covetous, unscrupulous and ill-conditioned Power, whose fiercest ambition is to destroy the British Empire in India, and who eagerly awaits every opportunity to produce the vilest anarchy amongst us. We do not doubt ourselves "the great resources and strength of the British Empire," but the deputationists are a trifle too over-confident in uttering this broad popular supposition. Neither they nor can the Government afford to ignore for a moment that the naval and land forces of the British Government have been allowed to slide into dangerous insufficiency considering that all other large or small powers are armed to the teeth for their own preservation. Until our own dream a quarter of a century old, that a day may come when wars shall more or less cease and all difficult problems may be solved in Iran or on some such crown of earth where all the illustrious sovereigns may meet the Empress of the East as their head, is realized, success is destined for the Power which is able to wield the greatest brutal-human force. While some attempt has been made by the Bombay Association to enter deeply into minor administrative questions,

we cannot but attribute their disinclination to look into the various military problems of the Empire to that immatureness of temperament and responsible experience which, while attaching undue proportions to secondary points of administration, is apt to ignore the most serious problem requiring powerful and comprehensive minds to grapple with precision and some severity. The communities which are partially and grievously blind to the mysteries which involve dangers against their own permanent self-preservation, are mere children who are to be treated with fancy articles and dainty toys lest they may cry and pester their elders. Just as the peace of India, and of the world perhaps, is brought on the brink of a precipice—the brink, no matter, may not be the one from which we may have a fall, we may be going round a series of such brinks—a delusive, though a perfectly well-intentioned, picture is placed before us of a people perfectly free of external and internal dangers and only imperilled because our civilization has not approached the limits of a halcyon bliss. It must try every mature temper to know that in and out of season there is nothing but a woeful list of grievances about the rights and privileges of certain classes to occupy our attention. We know the truth of the historical incident—Nero fiddled while Rome burnt. The Bombay Association is becoming, or intends to be, a responsible body on the part of the people of India. If it is only to be a faithful reflection of the masses who are helpless in saving themselves from loot, murder, or semi-barbarism, then well and good. We shall then know at least that they have limited their functions to a superficial dealing with Indian problems. But such is not the case. They would be the first in India to feel bitterly any unpreparedness on the part of India which may bring on it even a temporary calamity, or a passing anarchy. And who can say yet that, amidst the burning rivalries and jealousies of the contending nations, India may not be subjected to some disastrous surprise, though everything may be done to retrieve any mishap? Evidently our public men in India are much wanting in a thorough conception of grave realities.

We shall now refer to the more agreeable portion of the address before us. We quite agree, with the deputationists when they say that "few "persons have come as Governors of this important Presidency with so "high a reputation as your lordship bears, and fewer still have been the "instances where the appointment of a Governor has been received with "such general confidence and such high hopes as our own." We were

much impressed with his lordship's abilities on reading his address at Edinburgh, which we regret we have had no leisure to review as it richly deserves to be reviewed. Lord Reay has not had much career of official red-tapeism, but in spite of that he seems to us a statesman of versatile talents and shrewdly liberal and practical sentiments. We take this opportunity of wishing His Excellency a long career of distinguished and noble usefulness in his presidency to compensate for the sacrifices he has made in coming out to India. His appointment here is only next in value to that of Lord Dufferin, among whose ablest and most loyal colleagues we may expect Lord Reay ere long to be placed.

The deputationists properly reminded the Governor of one of his important utterances at Edinburgh that "a knowledge of the permanent interests of the people is the fundamental requisite of statesmanship." They said that to have a full knowledge of those interests their countrymen should be heard along with the privileged governing classes, however able and well-intentioned they may be. This would mean that our countrymen, when they speak on public questions, should be capable of being admitted as nothing short of an authority on them. It must be admitted that the Bombay Legislative Council needs the popular representative element more than it now professes to command. But unless our old suggestion is adopted in regard to nominating a *paid Native Executive Member* in the Council whose business would be to study especially the financial concerns of the country and give us and the Council an independent and practically useful exposition of them, we do not think the honorary popular members will be of very great practical use. We have already explained how the nomination of what we might term the Independent Executive Member of the Government nominated direct by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State may be made. Such a member, we may add, would be free to deal with any administrative or public question in all meetings of the Council. We shall hereafter go more into the details of this proposal. The Municipal Boards in the various Zillahs will be a good school for preparing popular honorary members for the Government Council, and we believe that the Bombay Municipal Corporation is already in a position to spare talented and well-cultured gentlemen like Mr. P. M. Mehta for the higher Council of the Presidency.

The address asks the Governor to put into operation early the permissive provisions of the Local Self-Government Acts in favour of local autonomy,

to secure greater elective element and local independence at the Boards. We think the district authorities ought to work more in the spirit bequeathed by Lord Ripon, at the same time we should have desired the Bombay deputation to have named the places which have demanded a greater elective freedom and have been refused.

It is admitted in the address that some good has been done to the ryots by the finality of the revenue survey and assessment lately introduced by the Government. We have, no doubt, some questions are yet left unconsidered in the interests of the peasantry, which may well be dealt with in the amendment of the proposed Land Revenue Code. We do not think, however, that in the matter of the recent slight enhancement in the assessment of the soil supposed to command a water-bearing stratum, Government can find itself in a just position to reverse the very fair policy it has adopted. We believe that the Government have been a little over-liberal to the ryots in this instance. We upheld sometime ago, in an exhaustive argument, the Government Resolution on the subject of subsoil water taxation, in no hesitating terms, and we notice that the Secretary of State has now finally approved of the measure. There is no necessity for the question being reopened unless the deputationists advance fresh facts and arguments in favour of their contention when the Revenue Code is revised. The deputationists headed by Sir Jamsetjee have condemned in no hesitating terms the operation of the recent Forest and Abkari Laws. The unqualifying terms of this condemnation may best be told in the language originally employed :—

"We beg next to draw the earnest attention of your Excellency to the urgency of promptly alleviating the hardship and sufferings which the poorer classes in the districts of this Presidency, especially in the Northern Division, are subjected to by the operation of the rigorous rules and bye-laws under the Forest Act. Nothing during the last few years has so rankled in the hearts of these people as the oppressive character of those rules and the stringent manner in which they have been administered. The immemorial rights and usages of villagers and private owners of forests have been so ignored in the district of Tanna that the ordinary operations of agriculture are impeded, and the Government, it is said, has lately been warned against probable popular disturbance. Again, the stringency with which the Abkari Regulations are carried out has deprived thousands of the poorest classes in certain places of their chief means of subsistence during a greater portion of the year, and has caused sullen discontent. Justice and humanity alike demand that the crying grievances of the people affected by the Forest and Abkari laws should be carefully inquired into through independent channels and promptly redressed."

There is much truth in the allegations above [illegible] Abkari and Forest Administrations, though, as

and justice, we cannot say that the proceedings of the Government have been only remarkable for harsh one-sidedness. The actual truth of the matter is that some systematized regulation of these departments being necessary they have been accordingly reorganized—the Forest Department being entirely newly organized—and the officers entrusted with their working have looked to little more than rigidly and loyally enforcing the law so constituted. In applying the law so rigidly little consideration seems to be paid to the facts that private rights and privileges in India are not based on such perspicuous grounds as hold good in England, and that, though the questioning of rights very unsatisfactorily acquired may perfectly well apply to Anglo-judicial acumen, it may inflict mischief on many thousands whose principal aspiration and morality lie in keeping their body and soul together. India needs many new departments regulating its public affairs for its ultimate good government, but any of them deliberately injuring individuals or communities have to be greatly modified in their initial working if they are to be made a success by slow and almost imperceptible degrees. Officers of Government are likely to be influenced by commendable zeal in bringing a public department into full working order; but if its perfection should be attempted all at once, much sorrowful unpopularity must ensue as the working of the forest department has proved. It is perfectly legitimate for the Government to regulate the growth of the forests and even to render them a source of much revenue; but very bad mistakes are likely to occur in the application of this principle. Ruthless destruction of trees belonging to Government may well be checked; but the poorer people whose chief maintenance may depend on their conveying loads of fuel on head from a great distance and dispose of them for two annas, or the inferior cultivators who carry on their head the leafy refuse of forests for manurial purposes, should not be subject to payments. Some merciful consideration should be paid to the thousands who may have vested interests in the public forests, though those interests may not quite have been legally acquired. Regulations for public property may be perfectly correct in theory, but their excellence and efficacy can only be judged by the manner in which they practically affect the condition of the thousands to whom they are applied. The regulations which are required to be rescinded as soon as they are put into force cannot lay claim to any administrative excellence. We agree, therefore, with the deputationist

that Lord Reay will be doing a very desirable thing by ascertaining for himself how far the serious complaints raised against the action of the Abkari and Forest Departments are true and deserve to be modified. The difficulty in knowing exactly how deep-seated are these grievances are great indeed in *the absence of a searching Press* which, while revealing cases of actual hardship and injustice, has the courage and impartiality to uphold the enlightened efforts of the Government. We do not like any public organs blindly influenced by any sort of partizanship.

We owe good offices as much to the Government as to the people. We cannot deny that in listening to the woes of the people we ought not entirely to trust the statements made by concerned departments, but should turn to some independent sources so that all sides may be fully heard. Not only that we have little of a searching and impartial Press, but have no agricultural or town associations fit to study the details of such important questions as those under notice and represent them in a masterly manner. *Till these institutions come into existence, Government may look upon* local Boards and Municipalities as independent bodies from whom a full and independent opinion may be obtained on the working of the laws referred to. In course of time every Zillah may be able to point out its own public bodies of this character, capable of giving reliable information as to the feelings, wants and grievances of the people arising from the operation of various laws.

The deputationists have made a general mention of the necessity of extending railways, feeders, roads and waterways needed for the expansion of the increasing trade of the Presidency, as well as for mitigating the horrors of famine in tracts liable to deficient rainfall. The question of strengthening the defences of the Bombay harbour and improving the numerous ports all along the Western Presidency coast has been also cursorily referred to by the deputationists. They have also properly asked Lord Reay to *extend his support to the* "indigenous arts and industries which have "recently witnessed the beginnings of a revival, thanks to the encourage-"ment offered by the late Viceroy," and to the establishment of a technical school to commemorate the honored name of the Marquis of Ripon. We trust Lord Reay's Government will accord their best support to the promoters of that institution. A passing allusion is also made to the necessity of permitting a larger number of natives to share in the covenanted and uncovenanted services in pursuance of the orders of the Government of

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India. One small passage is also devoted to the subject of the Native States of the Presidency, which runs as follows :—

"We shall not detain your lordship now by referring at any length to the important subject of the relations of the British Government with the Native States. We would only point with satisfaction to the recent proof which they have given of their loyalty and devotion to the British Government, and we rejoice to think that the friendship between these States and the British Government may fairly be expected to be strengthened during your lordship's administration."

As the object of the address has merely been to draw the general attention of our able and illustrious Governor to some of the salient points of his administration, we are, of course, precluded from entering into any practical details of the various important problems hit off in singular brevity. Though the Governor of a minor Presidency has now-a-days less autocratic powers than in times past, we need not explain how much it is in his power to leave an enduring name for good in his Presidency. There is an immense deal to be done quietly in the way of popularizing and invigorating the administration and bringing about an uniform development of its interior prosperity and economy. We are happy to note that Lord Reay's answer to the deputation was very promising, though necessarily brief. We record it below with pleasure and satisfaction as encouraging us with the hope that His Excellency will show a rare perseverance, ability and independence in the discharge of his functions, and elevate the status of his subjects and his Government even much more than his well-intentioned and hardworking predecessor was able to do. Here is his earnest, eloquent, well-weighed and modest reply :—

"Sir Jamsetjee and Gentlemen,—It is to me very agreeable to have the honour of receiving so influential a deputation from this Presidency on this occasion, and I have to thank you most heartily for the cordial welcome you have offered to Lady Reay and myself on this and other occasions. The address dwells on so many important subjects that I should not be entitled to your confidence if on this occasion I were to give a hasty reply, and I should not then show either the importance of the occasion, or respect to the influence of the deputation if I were to give any rash expression of mine to delude either the deputation or myself that these subjects do not require very careful handling. But I hope you will be satisfied when I tell you that some of them have already been considered by me very carefully (applause), and that those which I have not yet considered and which are mentioned in this address will sooner or later—and sooner rather than later—be considered by me and, of course, I shall need assistance of councillors who surround me—both of my Council and additional members of my Council—and with their assistance I hope that great good will follow, and that the welfare and prosperity of Her Majesty's subjects in this Presidency will be largely increased during my tenure of office with your co-operation."—

19th and 26th April, 1885.

Lord Reay, in opening his first Legislative Council, did wise in taking the public into his confidence. He gave an address of some importance dwelling upon the general condition of the Indian Empire. He took a broad and sensible view of its present interests and position. Being a nobleman of wide culture himself, he instinctively felt "the value of his colleagues' cordial "co-operation in the execution of the responsible duties which have been "entrusted to him by the Queen-Empress." "The first solicitude," he said, "of English Statesmen at this moment must be to place the naval and "military resources of the country on a proper footing." No doubt, as Lord Reay thinks, that wherever English civilization exists, there a firm conviction prevails that its career should not be marred by any feeling of insecurity. We are very glad that a high British administrator confesses that the very first thing needed is the Empire's capacity to destroy its enemy, whoever that may appear. But this conviction, however widespread, could have no practical effect unless Lord Reay, his Chief and the Indian nations indicate the capacity to have that conviction practically enforced. It is quite true that—

Lord Reay's first address to his Council.

"The spontaneous and general expressions received from princes and chiefs of their readiness to help Her Majesty's Government in any measures which the safety of the Empire might require, bear conclusive evidence that at Calcutta, at Bombay, at Singapore, at Sydney, at Toronto, at Montreal, at the Cape, there is the same wish that the treasures bequeathed to us by past generations of political experience and of steady progress should not be lost through any lack of foresight or prudence of this generation. The loyalty evinced in so many quarters in India has been duly recognised by our fellow-subjects elsewhere, and it will increase the good-will which unites together all parts of Her Majesty's Empire."

But we, who have been foremost in discerning the weaknesses of the Empire and have used the fullest knowledge in pointing them out in the public, may assure Lord Reay that the utmost as yet done in securing this Empire against the direct possible dangers which could be conceived has as yet gone exceedingly little beyond the theory declared by Lord Reay in great truth and frankness. His Excellency the Bombay Governor will greatly strengthen the hands of the noble Earl at Calcutta by submitting for his early consideration a complete scheme for the naval and military defence of the most enlightened Presidency which he has the good fortune to govern. We simply hint about the scheme here, but will take another occasion to show it in a properly developed form. This is one question sufficient to occupy the most anxious attention of the Governor for several

months. With true English pride and patriotism he has vindicated the name of British valor which is often very nearly compromised, and we are only happy to render him our humble support and submit to him a suggestion to place his belief in some practice. It is pitiable to have to know from the highest dignitary in the Presidency, that the Commander-in-Chief, however great his efforts may be to maintain a high standard of efficiency in the Bombay Army, could not expect to give to the Staff Corps that continuity of military employment which he fairly claims for them. We thus despair to think of the fate awaiting the forces of the Native States, should they be equipped and drilled for active service. The distinguished services lately rendered by the 28th Bombay N. I. will, it is hoped, induce the supreme military authorities to adopt a generous standard of appreciation, if for nothing else for the interests of the empire only.

Lord Reay dwelt upon what he advocates as being the most excellent trait of the administrative organization of the British :—

"I may regret with you the abandonment or temporary interruption of a number of schemes which were fast approaching execution, but exactly as my belief in the justice of our rule is strong, do I hold it to be unquestionable that no sacrifice is too great which makes that rule as safe as possible from outward disturbance. And if, gentlemen, I do believe in the excellence of an administrative organization, which has been adopted in the greater part of the habitable globe, it is because that system is the most elastic and the least centralising which has been known in history. To belong to an empire which gives you a maximum of the best thought and at the same time a maximum of freedom in recording your divergence by word and deed is no small privilege. The absence of all vexatious interference of the administration, which is the fundamental principle of English law, is hardly known anywhere else. Whatever English administrators are sent, the humblest member of the community knows that his interests or grievances will be considered with the same care as those of any other more fortunate individual. The protection of the weak is the fundamental law of English administration. Its flexibility as opposed to the hard and fast lines of French and German bureaucratic uniformity gives it that power of coping with emergencies which less elastic agencies do not possess."

No one will demur to the views so lucidly expressed by Lord Reay. But His Lordship, new as he is to any very vigorous administration, may bear in mind that the flexibility he speaks of is merely the outcome of the most finished liberal culture of the day ; according to our humble understanding, however, this flexibility, dear readers, has yet to stand the shocks and collisions of Empires and the ravages of the Infernal Explosives and Machines which the same high-fraught civilization ceaselessly brings into existence.

We fear in the passage that we have the pleasure to quote below,

Lord Reay would seem to those best acquainted with the country somewhat stiff in his conception of the condition of society handed down to us in India :—

"A scrupulous regard for ancient customs and ideas, wherever found and by whomsoever entertained on whatever subject, is a characteristic of English administration which cannot be too carefully preserved. Any interference with venerable customs of the tiller of the soil would be in direct opposition to the traditions of English administration. The ethnographical survey lately ordered by Sir Rivers Thompson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, shows the value experienced administrators attach to the knowledge of the idiosyncracies of the people. As in India all phases of civilization are in juxtaposition, we are in continual danger of forgetting how slow the process of evolution is, and how little good is done by interrupting the natural development of the understanding of the people"

We beg to differ from Lord Reay as far as it is truthful to say that physicians can indeed assist in and expedite the natural recovery of a patient. However old popular customs may be, the very fact that they have been injurious to society must hasten their downfall ; and we shall hardly do anything wrong by aiding the people in understanding that these customs have been injurious. There is no doubt that the banefulness of any phase of civilization should be very distinct and emphatic to permit of its harmless erasure from the constitution of the society. No one can of course dissent from what Lord Reay says with reference to "the venerable customs of the tiller of the soil."

Lord Reay pays a fitting, and certainly, not in the least flattering, compliment to Earl Dufferin, in declaring that he considers it "a great "privilege to have come here while so distinguished and statesmanlike a "ruler as the noble Earl will influence the destinies of the millions whose "well-being will undoubtedly be promoted by his beneficial government." We frankly stated on the noble Viceroy landing in India, that the greatest of all the difficulties he had to surmount was in connection with the consolidation of the defences of the Empire to make them apparently invincible against all its foes. We have now further reasons to adhere to the same opinion ; and we only hope that before the noble Earl's term expires, it will have been said that Russia may for ever knock at the gates of India in vain. Lord Dufferin will have thus gained *for him* an imperishable monument in the annals of India.

Lord Reay said in conclusion :—

"If the Government is precluded from sanctioning any expenditure, but *that which is most* vigorously required, other sources of supply are not stopped, and private"

coming forward in increased numbers to meet the most crying wants of Indian society. The newly-constituted local bodies will, I am sure, also prevent stagnation setting in and we shall reap the fruits of Lord Mayo's beneficent inauguration of decentralization. Individual initiative in educational, in agricultural, in sanitary, in medical reforms, assisted by departmental action, will be of the greatest value to the country. My distinguished predecessors assisted by an able staff of civil servants have left me a noble heritage To them it is due that this presidency has made such rapid strides, and my immediate predecessor has not been the least energetic ; and certainly Bombay is as wide awake as ever. It will be my strenuous endeavour to maintain this presidency in the proud position which it occupies among the provinces of the British Empire. The moderation and good sense of all classes of the Bombay community will make that labour, a labour of love"

His Excellency may rest assured that no important section of the population is likely to grumble at the temporary withdrawal of extraordinary expenditures while they may be employed for an immeasurably superior purpose of our security. It would be gratifying to find the local boards responding to the call of the Governor ; and we should like to see the general public doing more in the way of aiding in the development of the military strength of the Presidency.

As the Governor gets more and more into the depth of the work he has to perform in his Presidency, His Excellency will have every right to expect the millions placed in his charge to show that moderation and good sense will make that labour, "a labour of love." We have no doubt, as we infer from his speech, that he will pay a careful and generous attention to any genuine grievances which any affected community may bring to his notice. We may now be allowed to wish that Lord Reay's Government in the Bombay Presidency may turn out happy and prosperous, bearing important results in every possible direction.—21*st June*, 1885.

Earl of Dufferin's first Tour: The Speech at Delhi.

THE Viceroy has moved out of his capital to perform those long and rapid strides throughout the Indian continent which serve for the time to vivify vast human affairs and even to work out changes which may be remembered for generations to come. The Viceregal visits to centre-points of interest and activity are now becoming as frequent as the periodical changes in the Viceroyalty. The frequency has become as essential as it must tend to facilitate the high functions of the Viceroy and stimulate national and sectarian progress in some at least of the important directions marked in the country at large. There is not a State or a district which will not

heartily welcome the highest representative of the Queen, who at best can pay only one visit to a few of the important towns in India. As Viceregal visits become more regular than before, it is probable that stately ceremonials will, in future, be more and more allied with the disposal of difficult administrative, social and political questions. The Viceregal tour carries in its train some considerable outlay after dinners and demonstrations which open the ways of putting much welcome-money into the purse of the poor and the needy traders. These useful and activity-lending disbursements are rendered more valuable when the Princes obtain some of the much-coveted freedom and privileges in the interests of their kingdoms ; or the local functionaries and the Governors find valuable concessions made them for the development of their administration ; or the leaders of the people and the various communities have been granted some boons of a public character. The Viceroy who is animated with a desire to visit the various portions of his charge, though gracefully taking to the ovations spontaneously offered him,—which no amount of self-denial can induce him to dispense with,—is likely to centre his desires on grasping the intricacies and the merits or the demerits of local administrations ; on mastering the problems, a solution of which would result in bettering the various conditions of the people, or discovering those substantial advances in life which could be conceded in harmony with the genius, tendencies and aspirations of the people. Nothing is so difficult as to render an extended viceregal tour uniformly successful, for things and persons are apt to fall into the most delightful condition when the Mighty Orb revolves in all its warmth and brilliancy round the teeming little planets which legitimately assume a most brightened and smiling appearance. The many contemptible blots, which ordinarily disfigure these dependent creations and intercept their movements, are screened with a marvellous finish, as never were there products of Nature so tolerably lifeful and wholesome. It is when the rays of the great orb does something more than warm and brighten the surface of the lesser planets that the fundamental decompositions and disfigurations turn up for the burning heat which once in five years no creature would be so decrepid as to shirk The solar heat is to be most courted when diffused throughout the composition of its dependent objects much more than when applied to particular parts only. The smaller blemishes are not easily removed by the strokes of the mighty ; and it is the wide traversing changes which

and assistance. I am glad to think that it should have been my privilege to confirm to them the advantages of these municipal institutions to which they have referred with such legitimate pride, but which, it is but just to add, were designed by my illustrious predecessor. Without giving any pledge upon the subject as to times and seasons, I can assure them that no one will be more personally gratified than myself at the arrival of the day when a still fuller measure of civil independence may be granted them. With regard to the other matter to which you have alluded, it is a question which has not yet been brought officially before me. There is, no doubt, were I left to myself and were I to act under the impulse of the moment and with the impression of your friendly reception still present to my mind, I should be disposed to acquiesce in any demands of the character of those you have preferred to me; but it is not merely a question between the gentlemen around me and the guest of the evening, but between every Indian Municipality and Government, and I would not presume to decide it without the assistance of my colleagues, and especially of my financial adviser. All that I can now say is, that when the matter of your waterworks is brought officially before me, I will give to its consideration my best and most cordial attention. I have now to thank you for the kind words in which you refer to the efforts of the Government of Great Britain and India to preserve peace along our North-west Frontier. There is, no doubt, that at one time our tranquillity was seriously threatened, but, thanks to the wisdom of those principally concerned, and especially the loyalty and moderation of the Ameer of Afghanistan, whose assent we were bound in honour to obtain before coming to a settlement with Russia, war, the greatest calamity with which a country can be afflicted, has by the mercy of God, been averted. In conclusion, I beg to assure you that I shall not fail to convey to Her Majesty the expressions of your loyalty and devotion. Her Majesty is always deeply touched by such proofs of the good-will of her Indian subjects, whose welfare, contentment, and happiness are as dear to her as are those of any other of her people."

Lady Dufferin this morning (Oct. 30) opened St. Stephen's Hospital for women, an institution founded in connection with the local branch of the Cambridge Mission. The ceremony consisted of an address by the Rev. Mr. Carlisle recounting the history of the hospital, from which it appeared that the building owed its origin principally to the efforts, and was founded chiefly in memory, of the late Mrs. Winter, wife of the Rev. Mr. Winter of the S. P. G. Mission. Two German medical ladies are attached to the hospital, the foundation-stone of which was laid in January last year by the Duchess of Connaught. A short religious service followed the address, whereupon Lady Dufferin declared the institution open, exclaiming,—"I declare this hospital open in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."—*8th November*, 1885.

The Speech at Ajmere.

As yet the Viceroy's tour dazzles us with overspreading brilliancy as his speeches at D lhi and Ajmere represent. No principle of administrative questions of an urgent import has been dealt with by the Viceroy. Nor has it been brought up ', com-

(Mayo) College at Ajmere, on November 7. The assemblage was c posed of many chiefs and influential Europeans and Natives. The wh town, including its fort on the hill and the lake below, formed one bri mirror of illuminations on the evening of the 7th. After witnessing t cheering decorations and fireworks, Lord Dufferin and his noble, ben volent and industrious wife performed an earnest business, the first i declaring the "Mayo College" open, and the second in distributing prize among the seventy-five sons of the princes and aristocracy of Rajputana as brought up by Major Loch. The institution is one of those forming the landmarks of the changing history of India. The idea was conceived by Lord Mayo for the reform of the princely and noble dynasties of Rajputana. His calamitous assassination interfering, it was Sir Charles Aitchison who pursued the deceased nobleman's project by collecting six and a half lacs of rupees by donations from the chiefs of Rajputana. Major Mant was spared to design this building in the Hindu-Mahomedan blended, fairy-like style, as he devised for the far more elaborate palatial structure for that model ruler Sayaji Rao, the Gujerat Prince.

The Viceroy, while replying to Major Loch's address, stated that though the College was founded by Lord Mayo, its realization was due to the "wise liberality" of the Rajput Chiefs who gave effect to the intentions of the late lamented Viceroy, who, as he said, was his particularly personal friend. However limited the space at our command, we cannot afford to abbreviate the Viceroy's advice given to the noble students. The words are very few, but the choicest ones expressed in a language which must linger in their hearts till the end of their lives. As such they are, we may well record them as a portion of our history —

"In the first place, I would remind them that, whether as scions of ancient houses, or as heads of historical families, or as destined to fill public positions of importance in Rajputana, or as future chiefs of independent States, there has already fallen upon their young lives the shadow of heavier responsibilities and stricter duties, as well as the sunshine of loftier aspirations and wider responsibilities which encompass the existence of the bulk of their countrymen. Happiness to housands, tranquillity to vast territories, and general prosperity to the Empire at large may be dvanced or be retarded in a sensible manner in proportion to the degree to which they may take dvantage of the opportunities of self-improvement afforded them within these walls. For this ason it is exceptionally incumbent upon you, my young friends, to cultivate certain special alities and to avoid certain special dangers. Inasmuch as Providence has placed you in a ition of considerable social dignity, and has relieved you from the pressure of sordid cares and eties incidental to straitened circumstances, it should become a matter of pride and conscience ou to clothe yourselves in those manly virtues and characteristics which in all

The *universal necessity now felt for mastering the* English language has been very strikingly put by the Viceroy :—

" Passing from these general topics, I would have wished to have made a few specific recommendations with regard to matters of detail. Having, however, already detained you longer than I intended, I will confine myself to the single point which has already been so frequently referred to on similar occasions, namely, the great desirability of your becoming thorough masters of the English language. In doing so, I will not particularly insist on the obvious advantages your acquaintance with a tongue so rich and varied in its literature and through which you can make yourselves acquainted at first hand with the ideas of some of the greatest men that ever lived, as well as the latest results of modern philosophic thought and scientific research. I would rather remind you of the practical benefits which a due prosecution of your studies in this direction will confer upon you. English is the official language of the Supreme Government under which you live, and of the books which deal with public affairs, domestic administration and the general interests of your country, and it will be of continual use—indeed, I may say of absolute necessity—to you in the positions which you may be called upon to fill. Keen-witted inhabitants of many other parts of India have fully appreciated this fact, and all their energies have consequently been devoted to the acquisition of English, and, as a consequence, many of them both speak and write it with an eloquence and fluency beyond all praise. Now I trust that those I am addressing have sufficient self-respect to take sufficient pride in their province, not to wish it to fall behind other component parts of the Empire in this particular. Therefore, again I say, let it be one of the principal objects of your ambition, while within these walls, to acquire the English language. Already in the councils of Providence the edict has gone forth that English should be the language chiefly prevalent upon God's earth, and within another hundred years it has been *calculated that the* English-speaking races of the world will number upwards of a thousand millions. Under such circumstances, it would, indeed, be a disgrace if any of her Majesty's subjects in India, with any pretensions to belong to the educated classes, should remain ignorant of it "

Of all the languages of the world the English language is the most successful. It has formed individuals and nations ; the highest and noblest achievements have been acquired through its instrumentality. It has developed the most pious and the most philanthropic characters It has reformed vast kingdoms and lifted up mankind to the highest feats of enthusiasm, chivalry, and valor ; of enterprise, arts, and sciences ; of the profoundest philosophies, the purest materialism, and the sublimest spiritualism. It has taken its purest and its most radiant spark from the cradle language of the Mazdiasni Aryans,—the most divine and the earliest language of the Earth ; and its profoundly balancing influence from the more developed and secondary languages : the Sanscrit and the Arabic. It is destined to sweep away every language in India and the East, till the antique Avasta is fully reclaimed and reaches the same pinnacle as the English, the Sanscrit and other Eastern languages forming their more prominent accessories.

PART IV.

POLITICAL ASPECTS.

The London *Times* on Scurrility and Sedition in India.

It is just sufficient to put down this heading (vide in the margin), and it may be said with confidence that all really good and sensible men, Europeans and Natives residing in India and knowing India, will consider that the vices of scurrility and sedition—such as have been understood by the great paper—claim no proportion in any measure commensurate with the extent and the strength of the country. The following passages have been selected from some obscure papers and telegraphed from Calcutta to the London *Times*, which has consequently come out with an article a little too serious than the circumstance actually demanded. If we should have to quote such passages at first hand, we would be fully ashamed to do it, unless we subjected them to a rigid criticism. Here are some of the passages which the telegraphic correspondent of the *Times* has made historically famous :—

"The fiendish Englishmen say laughingly that the people of Madras "died of starvation because they were improvident. If those whom they "have robbed of everything lament, the fiendish Englishmen call them "rebels. To beg for employment is impertinence. They call men idle if "they cannot work on account of weakness caused by insufficient food." [The name of the paper from which this is quoted is not given.—Ed.]

"Foreigners have taken possession of India and are sucking her dry. "The people of India look on in a helpless manner. Their best interests "are sacrificed for the benefit of the English. Over and above this, "the innocent natives are insulted and killed. At every step the people "send up a cry for succour, when the English whip or the English kick falls "upon them. The demons are engaged, heart and soul, in violating the "chastity and taking the lives of Indian females. What a heart-rending "scene! It is a matter of regret that the people of India do not gird up "their loins to get rid of the oppression of white men."

"Justice Norris did not hesitate even to perjure himself on the Bench. "Perjury did we say ? Yes ; for did not Justice Norris take oath to be a

country. "The absurdity of the charges put forward in the native "journals [a *few* of the *obscure* native journals be pleased to mention on a "future occasion.—Ed.] is almost surpassed by their malignity of purpose "and their grotesque style." Quite so. But furtheron :—"The "patriotic fervour of a Bengali Baboo who deplores the humiliations "inflicted by narrow-hearted Englishmen," or "a brave prince like "Holkar, is a curious flight of fancy, for the writer is probably as well "aware as any one, though he presumes, with good reason, on the "ignorance of his readers, that if Holkar and the Mahrattas were not "constrained by the *Pax Britannica*, the people of Bengal would be trampled "under their horse hoofs or crouching at their stirrups." The flight of fancy is only a little less curious than our contemporary's own imagination about the Mahratta kingdoms which are a good deal changed, but which being in an embryo condition of the modern times can hardly deserve the epithets applied to them. What may be applicable to one set of circumstances can hardly be applicable to another, and a radically differing, set of circumstances. The Native Press has always acknowledged, however, what confusion might ensue on the withdrawal of the British power from India. But the first is as improbable an event as the second. He must be a hopelessly crazy man who said, "it is matter for regret that the people of India do not "gird up their loins to get rid of the oppression of white men." None excepting those who starve and are fanatic can ever express this. They cannot, however, interfere with the tranquillity of the country. It is not easy for a foreign press to know exactly the sources—if any —whence sedition in some papers is generated. But the *Times* is not backward in guessing the character of such sources. "In the East "Bazar rumours have always been thought to indicate that some mischief "is brewing, and the writing in the Vernacular Press is nothing more than "a modernized edition of bazar rumours, stiffened and stereotyped and "made absurd beyond all former experience by passing into the mould of "a foreign and distorted literary style. * * * Whether it is the "renewal of the activity of Russia beyond the Afghan frontier, or, the "ambiguous attitude of some of the native princes and the magnitude of "their armies, which have now set disturbing rumours afloat in the bazars "and sent their echoes resounding through the V- -ould "be difficult to say." No honest politician in

or European, can so easily and directly trace the foolish writings of violent journals, to either an inspiration from the Bazars, the Native Courts, or any imaginary organization breathing from the side of Central Asia. It is often found that half-illiterate or semi-starving writers might advocate the cause of a Native State in the most violent style, though that State might not have the least relation with them. Out of mere personal vice or vanity, or influenced by a delusive and scanty knowledge of what goes on in European societies, they may indulge in all sorts of braggardism for which not even the most suspicious bazars may be responsible—almost invariably. It is expected that some native princes might not always be satisfied with all that may be done in their connection by the British Government. The attitude of such princes towards the Paramount Power may be "ambiguous." Before, however, we can so seriously construe such an attitude into a disloyal one, the public will certainly demand proof, and are hardly likely to accept the verdict of the *Times* as at all just or true. No amount of blasphemous language employed in the public in the way it has been, can ever warrant us to connect it with either a multitude or a native court. While Lord Lytton's Press Act was introduced in the Supreme Council—even on such a serious contingency as that—we do not remember any instance of this sort cited in support of the bill. The India Council, though not vetoing the Act, insisted on its provisions being made less stringent than they were. If ever a multitude or a native court instigated the Press to arraign itself against the Government, that was surely the occasion when this might have been hinted. It is more just to put down the offensive ebullitions of the excitable and neglected portion of the Press—to quote the happy words of our illustrious contemporary—to a "modernized edition" of "reckless and superficial speech of irrespon-"sible thinkers stiffened and stereotyped, and made absurd beyond all "former experience by passing into the mould of a foreign and distorted "literary style," than to any supposed or real influential embodiment of sedition in India. "The millions of peasant cultivators, artisans and "petty traders have nothing to gain by frightening Lord Ripon's Govern-"ment," though "it is not so with the self-interest and the vanity of the "writers noticed." Where is the harm, then, done to the tranquillity of India?

We hope to have clearly proved how absurd it is to talk of the Native Press when it is the minor and unwise portion of it which entirely

attracts unfavorable attention. Take the mass of its writings, and its fairness and intelligence must far, far outweigh the rubbish to which so much prominence has been given. If the Anglo-Indian journals were only to be kinder to their native brethren in the press in allowing it a free access to their columns, we shall hear much less of such sensational effects as the *Times* has just been able to produce. The more influential journals of the country might with advantage quote the able and loyal writings which not unfrequently appear in the respectable portion of the Native Press.

We would rather hesitate in mixing up, as the *Thunderer* has done, the recent action of the Calcutta Municipal Commissioners with that of the over-zealous writers in a part of the Bengal Press. If we admit that there was any failure on the part of that body, it has no immediate, nor a notable, connection with the journalistic rabidness displayed in Bengal. The partial inefficiency of the Calcutta Board is owing to complicated causes, in which all the officials and non-officials are involved. Whatever; the urgency of the governmental action, the plight to which the Board there has been unfortunately reduced has nothing whatever in common with the derangement displayed by fantastic public men, who have followed their own special instincts. We are sure, had the *Times* been well-informed, it would have refrained from throwing a slight on the Calcutta Board in direct reference to the alleged Indian sedition, which, by no means, is national, or even sectarian, considering our varied and numerous populations.

Most of us would be inclined to thank the *Times* for frankly telling us what even hasty impressions of the people of England are likely to be when its administration is coursely assailed by any of its subjects. The *Times of India* gave us the true solution of the difficulty when it laughed out the silly effusions, and suggested a remedy to be adopted by the better class of native journals meeting them every time with a little good-natured ridicule. We strongly think that this remedy ought to be consistently followed in the interests of the Native Press itself, if for nothing more. Every respectable journal will find hard to tolerate a language employed in the public, which is calculated ere long to give rise to such race animosities as might defy then all such endeavours as may now be employed with some certainty. Ridicule ridicule, therefore, any disgusting stuff appearing in the prints we have noticed, and such as the *London Times* has done a service in placing before the public, [illegible] ect its inferences have been.—*21st September*, 1884.

privileges and integrity of the British Empire. The Editor for the journal was to be selected in India—a thoroughly patriotic and veteran native ; and the organ was to be entirely devoted to a dispassionate and vigorous discussion of the Indian questions in England, so as to effectually train public opinion of England on the spot on all matters transported to England, or originated there, in reference to India. Besides guiding the public agitation of Indian matters, one of the other important features of the journal was to be a series of sketches given from time to time of the statesmen, heroes, and reformers of English and Indian extraction, who in times past laboured towards the end of kingdoms and empire, or in variously helping on and consolidating the various communities of India. Again, the politics of Great Britain, Europe and Asia in general, were to be discussed from the point of view which the increasing vitality of the East and a complete unification of all the ancient and modern continents might suggest. In short, the proposal was to create a powerful public opinion in England in behalf of India, which would accelerate its various points of progress at the same time that it sympathized with the traditions and genius of the British Lion.

The movement under notice seems to us as being a brief preamble of the above measure. The good people of Bombay and Calcutta will find in a short time the telegraphic despatches to be entirely inadequate which will be more than overcome by the force of Anglo-Indian opinion. The short messages are sure to be ridiculed by the torrential Anglo-Indian and other opinions, which will find vent in the journals of England. As a starting step, however, we hail it with deep interest, and wish it the full success it undoubtedly deserves.

The only regret is that gentlemen in Bombay should at all have prescribed the reason for establishing the service in the way they have done. The manner in which they have proceeded to work out the scheme might produce those first prejudices against a public measure which always ought to be avoided. What's the use of proclaiming to the world that since a certain correspondent of a certain journal has habitually used misrepresentations in his telegraphic missives to a certain influential journal in London, that, therefore, the present measure is taken to foil that correspondent? We do not think this to be the most agreeable method of interesting a very powerful and universal community in matters of our weal or woe. We ought not to make such an i tant start by an

THE *Times of India* gave a concise account on Tuesday last of a meeting of native gentlemen held at Bombay to organise a Committee for despatching to, and publishing in, London the essence of native public opinion on the various burning questions which agitate the public mind in India from day to day. The prevailing sentiment of the meeting was that as the telegraphic despatches sent from India to the London *Times* have often distorted and exaggerated facts calculated to prejudice the interests of educated India, it has become desirable that a telegraphic service from an opposite point of view should be established in Bombay, so that misrepresentations promulgated in England may be corrected, and the facts with reference to the true spirit and aims of the Indian people may be laid with promptitude before the English Ministry and the public. The following gentlemen have taken a lead in establishing the telegraphic service, for which it is expected that as much capital will be collected in the shape of donations, &c., as would fetch an interest amounting to Rs. 12,000 required for giving effect to the Committee's object. The leaders of the movement are:—

Indian Public Opinion in England.

Professor Wordsworth, Sir W. Wedderburn, Dr. Peterson, Mr. A. O. Hume, the Hon'ble K. T. Telang, Messrs. P. M. Mehta, Dadabhai Navroji, Nowrozji Furdunji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, R. M. Sayani, F. R. Vicaji, Waman Abaji Modack, Javerilal Umiashunker, Shunker Pandurang Pandit, K. N. Kabraji, B. M. Malabari, Dinshaw Edalji Vacha, J. A. Dalal, Damodur Thakursey.

A provisional Committee will be appointed with authority to send a weekly summary of news and extracts of opinions on important political questions of the day to one of the daily newspapers in London, the choice of the paper being left to the discretion of the Committee.

The importance of this movement cannot be over-estimated as emanating from the rising as well as the veteran gentry of Bombay. The necessity of spreading the public opinion of India in the British Isles was pointed out in a practical form by the present writer to some influential gentlemen in Bombay much more than a decade ago, when the scheme was not then deemed feasible. The aim of that scheme was that events in India required that a powerful journal should be started in London wholly conducted by native writers of reputation and experience to acquaint the people of England with the best and safest views affecting the public interests of India as independent in themselves as also affecting the

privileges and integrity of the British Empire. The Editor for the journal was to be selected in India—a thoroughly patriotic and veteran native ; and the organ was to be entirely devoted to a dispassionate and vigorous discussion of the Indian questions in England, so as to effectually train public opinion of England on the spot on all matters transported to England, or originated there, in reference to India. Besides guiding the public agitation of Indian matters, one of the other important features of the journal was to be a series of sketches given from time to time of the statesmen, heroes, and reformers of English and Indian extraction, who in times past laboured towards the end of kingdoms and empire, or in variously helping on and consolidating the various communities of India. Again, the politics of Great Britain, Europe and Asia in general, were to be discussed from the point of view which the increasing vitality of the East and a complete unification of all the ancient and modern continents might suggest. In short, the proposal was to create a powerful public opinion in England in behalf of India, which would accelerate its various points of progress at the same time that it sympathized with the traditions and genius of the British Lion.

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The only regret is that gentlemen in Bombay should at all have prescribed the reason for establishing the service in the way they have done. The manner in which they have proceeded to work out the scheme might produce those first prejudices against a public measure which always ought to be avoided. What's the use of proclaiming to the world that since a certain correspondent of a certain journal has habitually used misrepresentations in his telegraphic missives to a certain influential journal in London, that, therefore, the present measure is taken to foil that correspondent? We do not think this to be the most agreeable method of interesting a very powerful and universal community in matters of our weal or woe. We ought not to make such an important start by an

exhibition of such a pointed motive, nor by expressly seeking the depreciation of the leading exponent of the public of Great Britain and Ireland. We have ourselves not unfrequently dissented from some of the serious opinions of the *Times*, and unravelled its fallacies of principles and views in regard to the manner and spirit in which Great Britain has to discharge its duty towards India. What may always be temperately urged in the course of a controversy cannot be erected into a repugnant prime motive in the conduct of a very powerful organ, whose good graces ought to be conciliated by us while setting on foot an important movement like the present. The public of Bombay should not make too light of the influence exercised by the London *Times* which is immeasurably superior to what we should be able to exercise for some time yet in England. Whatever the inconstancy of the *Times*, it may be admitted that we shall not be able for a long time to come to shake the esteem in which the *Thunderer* is widely held in England,—that is, if the task falls within the range of possibility. We would, therefore, venture to advise the leaders of Bombay not to be too sanguine, nor enter into any rivalry with either the *Times*, or its Calcutta correspondent. The most feasible policy would be to select questions without any reference to the personal opinions of any correspondent, or journalist. The people in England should not be carried away by the impression that a coterie of native gentlemen in India have organized themselves to forward their own interests and endeavour to lower the favourite journal in their estimation. The motives and scope of the policy of the worthy Bombay leaders being entirely honorable and commendable, we do not desire that such an admirable business should even seemingly assume any party passion or prejudice. While we desire that the faith of the Englanders should be shaken in the really inimical efforts made in England, should we not carefully refrain from any speech or action which would at once put on a form of an opposite party combination? We regret, therefore, that the ostensible reason for adopting the measure under notice put forward should have been the one of which the patriots of Bombay have made no secret. There is nothing which suits so well the genius and the vanity of the British nation as an impersonal and skilful handling of political questions; but the Bombay gentlemen have too frankly shown their hands, and we would only wish that everything would go on successfully. Meanwhile we would strongly urge on Indian leaders to go to the very *heart* of the British nation, and there establish a

moderate and a vigorous, constant-speaking organ in behalf of India. There is no venture which deserves a better patriotic support than the one we have noticed above. Both the wealthy and the enlightened ought to be interested in a project which besides advocating Indian interests just on occasions when that advocacy is most needed on the spot, might also help to enlighten us with those secrets which have secured unrivalled prosperity and advance to the British Isles, and which would be of such great use to the commercial, industrial, and literary members of the Indian populations. Native gentlemen selected for conducting a journal in London, which might aptly be named *The Sun, or The Light from the East,* should be of a thoroughly tried character, of deep and various experience, and true patriotic natives of India, the whole concern being supervised by an influential and public-spirited Committee in Bombay, aided by supplementary committees in other parts of India. We ask the *Voice of India* to put the suggestion about this scheme in circulation throughout India. We are sure the time is *now* ripe, when some philanthropic gentleman can successfully identify himself with the execution of this humane measure of considerable relief and protection both to India and England. —*25th January*, 1885.

Political activity in Bombay.

THE visit of so gifted and so influential a politician like Lord Randolph Churchill to India is an event of some importance for the fruit it is likely to bear in the immediate future. Our young friend, Mr. B. M. Malabari, did well in arranging for an interview between his Lordship and some of the political leaders of Bombay at the *Indian Spectator* office. Among the few invited, there were present the Hon'ble Budrudin Tyebji, the Hon'ble K. T. Telang, Mr. Dadabhai Navroji, Mr. P. M. Mehta and Mr. Nowrozji Furdoonji. The conference lasted for about two hours, during which the interviewers endeavoured to acquaint the Lord with some of the main grievances affecting the interests of the various communities and peoples of India. The questions touched upon related to the obstructions which existed in native admissions to the Covenanted and Uncovenanted Civil Services and the Legislative Councils of India, as also bearing on the publicity of the annual budgets as now obtained in India and England, the annual heavy drain on the resources of India on account of [illegible] the absence of Parliamentary guarantee on India's pu[illegible]

ourselves so often discussed these questions and even thrown out suggestions of practical importance that we shall not seriously discuss them to-day, but pass on to a general observation which the kind visit of his Lordship to India suggests to us.

The answer of his Lordship to the interviewers was rather disappointing. He observed that though he listened to them with pleasure the questions to which his attention was drawn were of such vast and complex character like the country and its people, that each of them, he said, would demand a study of years to acquire a full mastery over it. We scarcely think that such a long time would be necessary to understand the questions brought to his Lordship's notice. Probably his Lordship thought this the best way of avoiding the responsibility of expressing opinions and views which may not suit the present condition of the government of the country, and which may excite the disapproval or displeasure of either of the two great parties in India. It would not surprise us if he did not find himself prepared to deal authoritatively with the questions brought to his notice. He may be influenced by a genuine and laudable desire not to say anything which may, perhaps, tend to embarrass the administration of Lord Dufferin just when the Viceroy is committed to a deep study of the questions which either apparently agitate the country, or silently affect its interests. Lord Randolph was, however, unreserved on one point. "He suggested that natives of India "could not do better than send deputations from this country to England "consisting of such of their friends as thoroughly knew these questions, for "the purpose of interesting members of Parliament and others in them. "Unless they moved actively in the matter it was vain for them to expect "English politicians to evince that interest in Indian questions which they "wished him to do." Lord Randolph has at any rate made a valuable suggestion. To take measures to interest the members of Parliament in the progress of Indian questions means that the leaders at Bombay and elsewhere should themselves be identified with them more closely than ever, and initiate a very important practical movement.

The establishment of a telegraphic service and a reformed political association in Bombay must pave the way to open that intimate intercourse with the English Parliament, which must, in future, be the necessary condition of political existence in India. We are very happy to notice that since we dwelt on the lamentable necessity of starting a Central Political

Association in Bombay as the parent institution of the Poona *Sarwajanik* and other like Sabhas in the Presidency, actual steps have been taken to start a head Association in Bombay. We warmly congratulate Mr. Dadabhai Navroji, the Hon'ble Mr. Telang, the Hon'ble Mr. Budrudin, Messrs. Nowrozji and Pherozshah Mehta for the activity they have displayed in organising a grand meeting for establishing the Association. We call upon the princes and leaders in Gujerat and Kattywar to support the project substantially, as well as with their moral influence. That all may be able to join the movement, we have no doubt the first meeting contemplated in Bombay will do nothing more than dwell on the broad questions of the pub ic benefit which India in these days so sadly wants. We need not especially trouble ourselves with what individual politicians or journalists may say about India. The basis of the Association should be temperate and effective representation of large questions of interest to the largest possible numbers of the country.

If the projected Association is expected to fulfil the function suitable to the present times, it must be especially represented by constant and powerful organs in India, but especially in London. One of our strongest contentions of years is that India should be represented by a powerful journal in England. The suggestion of Lord Randolph that deputations should be sent to England to interest members of Parliament in Indian questions, commendable as it is, should be supplemented by a more abiding measure in the founding of a powerful daily organ in the metropolis of Great Britain. It would often be impracticable to reach the British Lion by occasional petitions or deputations. The members of Parliament and the British public should be daily and hourly instructed as to the public needs of the country before any noteable or abiding impressions can be made on them in a manner that would benefit both India and England, and strengthen and permanence the peace and prosperity of the Queen's Eastern Empire. Ample means should be provided to conduct the said journal in a thoroughly independent and active manner so that it may be able to claim the respect and esteem of the British statesmen and the people. Considering the dense ignorance existing in England on Indian subjects, the natural tendency of the British people to be led away by party predominance and the oracular assertions of the London press; [illegible] ing a[illegible] the present influence exercised in a spasmodic w[illegible] English Parliament, the real instrument whi[illegible]

people as the English is only a daily journal *printed and published in London entirely by competent native agency*. It is the *Sun or the Light from the East*, taking its birth in our Queen's Metropolis, which can shed true light on Indian topics, and illuminate the uninformed minds of both Houses of Parliament, the Ministry, and the people at large of England. We beg the leaders of Bombay not to beat about the bush, but go direct to the point of action, and skilfully and courageously adopt a measure which will directly tell on the minds of the British people. Let the Indian rays of light be shed *here* clearly and constantly as the Sun acts from day to day, the measure being worked by an honest, patriotic and wisely and honorably active native agency, working on broad national principles affecting the good of no particular clique but of the whole of the Indian continent and the Eastern Empire at large. The organ to be established should reflect the views of the Great Native India, whatever the caste elements making up that power. India must then act in sympathy with all the Kingdoms in Europe and Asia and such of the European and Asiatic Kingdoms which can act beneficially on the Native Kingdoms of Asia, as the British power now does on the Indian territories at large. Surely a journal of such Eastern light cannot in course of time fail to secure the influence of the British Empire and of all the prominent Native States in India, Asia and Europe. Instead of frittering away our resources in the limited and chance-work way we do, a National Association should make its articulation felt in the manner we have respectfully pointed out. Create this telling influence in the heart of the British nation, and then exercise it vigilantly and quietly, but in a constant and respectful manner, and then see what the fruits of this righteous and cautious action will be in the course of the very first five years of the existence of the journal we would wish to see started in London.—*1st February*, 1885.

A Political Meeting at Bombay.

THE establishment of a Native Political Association in Bombay as declared in a public meeting held in Bombay two weeks ago, is an event of some importance in the current Indian politics. That the Association is headed by the Parsi Baronet, its operations being closely watched by able native patriots like the Hon'ble K. T. Telang, C.I.E., the Hon'ble Mr. Budrudin Tyebji, Seths P. M. Mehta, Dadabhai Navroji, Nowrosji Furdunji, is at once a guarantee that our political affairs rest in competent hands. It is an interesting task to notice the first proceedings which were

presided over by the young and worthy Baronet, Sir Jámsetji Jeejibhoy. As he said, the necessity for this organization has been doubly felt owing to Lord Ripon's regime having given fresh force to native public opinion. This view as well as the other one of the Parsi knight stating that the present Viceroy desires to follow the same line of policy as has been chalked out by his predecessor, would have been objected to by anti-native critics, but for the qualifying assertion of Sir Jamsetji that "the true interests of "this country, as every capable judge admits, are identical with the true "interests of Great Britain." It is a misfortune that there are many influential people in India and England who do not admit the correctness of this theory and thus retard the progress of the country.

The Hon'ble Mr. Budrudin Tyebji very eloquently showed why Bombay should have its own political association, and a national one, as affecting the interests of the Indian Empire at large :—

"It is, I think, with nations as with individuals that with the growth of political life new aspirations arise, and these aspirations require an organization to give them due expression, and the organization in its turn watches, regulates, develops and directs national aspirations. Now, gentlemen, it cannot be denied that a city like Bombay, the capital, I may say, of West India, with its vast population, with its keen and intense political life, a city which has been described by eminent statesmen as the chief and best centre of political thought in India, ought to possess a well organized, strong, and true national association for the purpose of watching the interests of this country. It is perfectly true that there is in our midst a branch of the East India Association, which has no doubt for many years done good service to the people of this country. But that branch was established rather in aid of the parent association in England than as an independent association in this country. It no doubt served temporarily to fill the gap that was created by the death, if I may use the expression, of the late Bombay Association But, gentlemen, I think the time is come when temporary measures of this kind should be set aside, and a political association that may be called a truly national association should be founded upon a permanent basis. Gentlemen, Bombay cannot afford to be satisfied with the branch of any association, however powerful, eminent, or useful that association may be Bombay, I say—as the chief centre of political thought in India, ought to possess an association worthy of its greatness, worthy of its active political life and political history (cheers)—an association which shall not merely follow the sentiments and movements of our friends in England, but rather in a measure lead them. Gentlemen, I feel therefore that we are performing a great duty this evening in laying the foundation of such an association."

It is one of the signs of the times when we have a Mahomedan gentleman furtheron admitting that the Western enlightenment tends to unite the discordant nations of India into one, and that their aspirations being made common, their effect on the country is to gain for it greater freedom and privileges at the same time that the strength and security of the

Empire are increased, and the bonds of friendship and of harmony "which "at present happily exist between Her Majesty's Eastern and Western "Empires drawn closer together." The most violent opponent of native interests will hardly demur to the proposition put forth by the hon'ble gentleman, which the Association has promised to bear in mind from its very cradle. He wisely said: "I trust that in times of excitement and "agitation it may exercise a moderating influence upon the popular feeling. "Above all, gentlemen, I think it must not confound real independence "with that petulant and carping spirit which can see no good in any "Government measure and detect nothing for the benefit of the people of "this country." Perhaps this is the first time we find an important principle of patriotic action enunciated in a public meeting as led by the distinguished band of patriots whom we have already named. The difficulty which will now be felt is to apply this principle in practice. We have no doubt they will overcome the difficulty. But there is a still greater difficulty to overcome dwelt upon by ourselves very recently. That difficulty relates especially to the study of financial and military problems as to which our politicians have yet to evince a knowledge and insight at least as great as those of the actual administrators.

Short as the Hon'ble Mr. K. T. Telang's speech was—whom the public would always desire to hear at length as being an effective, sensible and experienced orator—he must have gratified the meeting by disclosing the material resources already gained for conducting the Association. This short speech we quote entire, calling upon the people and the princes of the Presidency who are interested in our political advance to contribute their resources to the vigorous working of the Association:—

"The object of the meeting has been so often discussed during the past few years, that it will be a work of supererogation to say anything in support of it. There is only one remark which I should like to make at this meeting with reference to it, namely, that the response which has been received to the call made by myself and my friends for help from the public of Bombay is a response which has completely satisfied us all. We are in a position to announce that nearly three hundred gentlemen have already consented to register themselves as subscribers to this association. (Cheers.) But what we regard to be more important is this, that nearly forty-five gentlemen have promised donations of Rs. 300 each, which will form the nucleus of a permanent fund for the association. (Cheers.) Now I will not be understood to say that this is at all a large sum, but it will be necessary to supplement it hereafter, and I have no doubt that th public of Bombay will help us in that matter in the same way as it has already helped us b giving us so many annual subscribers. I may say that the response hitherto given to our invit tion is such as is calculated to cheer us on in this work, and one which I think may be trea

as a respectable response at this stage of the association. But so far as things have progressed, I think we may all congratulate ourselves on the satisfactory results achieved. When we have any work on hand well begun, it is said to be half-done, and I think we have more than well begun this undertaking. (Cheers.)"

Mr. P. M. Mehta quoted a most appropriate extract from one of the old speeches of the Earl of Dufferin addressed to the citizens of Quebec, in which the noble Lord exhorted them to sacrifice some of their means and leisure in the pursuit of the self-government of their country. The extract is so important, so eloquent, and so admirably suited the object of the meeting which Mr. Mehta addressed that we must thank him for putting it in a prominent light as below —

"I cannot help wishing to express the extreme satisfaction which I experience in observing with what alacrity and self-abnegation the chief citizens of Quebec, gentlemen whose private occupations and engagements must be extremely absorbing, are content to sacrifice their domestic leisure and the interests of their private business in order to give their time and attention to the public service. Gentlemen, I take it that there is no more healthy sign of naional life than this, or rather that there would be no more fatal indication of an unpatriotic selfish, and despicable spirit, than were what are called the business-men of the country, that is to say, those persons who, by their education, character, habits, and intelligence, are best fitted to serve her, being tempted by an over-absorption in their private business to abstain from all contact with public affairs, and from a due participation in the onerous and honorable strife of municipal or parliamentary politics. Were such a defection on the part of the most intelligent, energetic, and high-principled men of the country to prevail, the consequence would be that the direction of its affairs would fall into the hands of corrupt adventurer, and trading politicians, and that the moral tone of the nation as a nation would deteriorate throughout every stratum of society; and what I ask, is the worth of the largest fortune in the world, of the most luxurious mansion, of all the refinements and amenities of civilization, if we cannot be proud of the country in which we enjoy them, if we cannot claim part in the progress and history of our country, if our hearts do not throb in unison with the vital pulse of the national existence, if we merely cling to it as parasites cling to a growth of rotten vegetation. Of course, I do not mean to imply that we should all insist on being Prime Ministers, Secretary of State, or Mayors, or Members of Parliament, or Town Councillors. Such aspirations to all would be neither useful nor desirable. A large proportion of the energies of the community must be always employed *in building up its mercantile, manufacturing, and agricultural status, and in its learned* professions; but I venture to think that no one, especially in a young country, no matter what his occupation, should consider himself justified in dissociating himself altogether from all contact with political affairs The busiest of us can examine, analyse, and judge; we can all canvass, vote, protest, and contend for our opinion; we can all feel that we are active members of a young commonwealth, whose future prospects and prosperity depend upon the degree of patriotism, self-sacrifice, and devotion with which we apply our energies in our several stations to her material, moral and political development."

These words shrewdly quoted will serve to remind

years, but nevertheless such as may cause great anxiety. Where is the man in India who can pronounce a confident opinion as regards its safety as influenced by the numerous unknown complications which have ensued from the favorable and unfavorable aspirations, traditions, and prejudices of the various powerful nations of the West and the East? What sagacious politician in India will refuse to believe that such difficulties as those in Egypt, on our own frontiers, and those connected with some of the European and Asiatic States may one day endanger the peace of India!—*15th February*, 1885.

Lord Randolph Churchill on his Tour in India.

We feel greatly interested in the concise account given by Lord Randolph Churchill of his recent tour in India, and have, therefore, great pleasure in producing it below. We are specially gratified to publish it for the edification of our readers, as it is singularly truthful, unsensational and modest. What amount of harm is done to India when some of those who visit it give an exaggerated and unsympathetic account of Indian affairs! Young India ought not to be too fond of such feeling accounts, because the real wants and necessities of India are concealed under the ludicrous and sensational pictures sought to be pourtrayed by those who, though exceedingly well-meaning, are incapable of controlling their temper and judgment when they hear that affairs in India do not improve and progress as fast as they do in America or England. What a simple and quiet account did our good and noble Lord give to his interviewers about what he saw in India, which ought to have had a wonderful effect on those personages who probably desired to report some startling stories as emanating from him, for did they not know what high-pitched things were lately narrated in the London periodicals? Lord Randolph frankly stated that, considering the present political crisis in India, he would refrain from laying much stress on the conditions in vogue there. He wondered, and very rightly too, that a large number of politicians of England did not visit India and study public questions on the very grand scale which our country so well afforded. We expect immense good to India if his Lordship's suggestion were adopted by his brother noblemen and the [illegible] of P[illegible] who consider that the elysium of the Earth is [illegible] British Isles. The Reporters must have been [illegible] noble Lord that he did not find any pinching [illegible]

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the East, all political problems in India being solved on such an enormous scale, that a study of them on the spot cannot but open the minds and enlarge the ideas of visitors. Lord Salisbury has said that, if we would understand the Russian question, we should study it on large maps, and everything in India is on so vast a scale that political questions may be studied there as upon a large map. The people of India feel it a disadvantage that there is such a tremendous gap between them and the British public, everything which concerns them has to filter to us through so many officials and by means of the formalities of a Government bureau, that their natural views and feelings are never put quite fully or fairly before the people of Great Britain, and they are, therefore, very glad to welcome any politician to whom they can talk freely upon subjects which chiefly affect them." Asked for an account of his route, Lord Randolph said: "I went from Bombay to Poona, and travelled thence to the very interesting old state of Beejapore, in the Southern Mahratta Country, thence to Bombay. I next journeyed to Indore, and stayed there with Sir Lepel Griffin, with whom I had an opportunity of visiting the important military cantonments of Mhow. At Indore I saw the Maharajah Holkar and his court. From that point I accompanied Sir Lepel to Gwalior, where I met the Maharajah Scindia, when I had an opportunity of seeing his Highness's army. There were 7,000 men on parade, and speaking as a civilian, without professing much military knowledge, I should say that their drill and manœuvring was equal to almost any British force. But they are only armed with the old "Brown Bess." It may equally be said of almost all the native troops in the various States that for modern military purposes they are practically unarmed. The account which Sir Lepel Griffin gives, in this morning's *Times*, of the armies in the Native States of India is most faithful and accurate. From Gwalior I went to Lucknow, and thence enjoyed a fortnight's expedition into the Terai, on the borders of Oudh and Nepaul, where we had some good shooting and killed a fine tiger, as well as some other wild game. I had also an opportunity of seeing the country and visiting many of the villages, taking care here as well as at other points, to observe for myself and to ascertain the condition of the peasantry." In reply to a question as to where he had noticed much misery amongst the common people, his lordship said: "No, I did not see any startling evidence of starvation or deep poverty, although in the British portion of the Deccan there was evidently a good deal of agricul-

by a number of beaters on foot, but the tiger was not at home. Although we had little sport, the life in camp was exceedingly pleasant and luxurious. When in Hyderabad, I saw all the sights of the city, and made the acquaintance of the ministers. In many respects the State of Hyderabad seems to possess a more advanced and enlightened government than any of the other Native States. Its present Prime Minister, the Nawab Salar Jung, has surrounded himself with a body of very excellent colleagues, principally Mahomedans from the north. The Nawab is actually carrying out the great reforms initiated by his father, and in these he is well supported by the Nizam. If he is properly supported by the British authorities, I think the State of Hyderabad will be fully as well governed as any part of India. From Hyderabad I returned to Bombay, which I left on the 20th of March, on the homeward journey." When asked which of the Indian cities struck him as most characteristic, Lord Randolph replied that he thought Hyderabad was the most thoroughly Indian in all its features and surroundings, adding that many of the large towns in the north-west were getting more and more Europeanised.

His Lordship, who was somewhat tanned by the Indian sun, states that he is in excellent health, and thoroughly enjoyed his tour from beginning to end. By means of private correspondence and newspapers he has been able to keep himself fully informed as to the progress of political affairs in England during his absence.—10*th May*, 1885.

The Change in Government and Lord Randolph Churchill.

THE civilized world must be wondering at the recent change effected in the Government of England. It is unique of its kind as formed by Lord Salisbury, and as permitted by the Premier and his Cabinet under suspension, according to the wishes of our August sovereign. It is a wonder to find how easily the Opposition side has gained the day, and with what readiness the Government, which was only a moment ago considered all-powerful, have been smashed by their opponents. It is not that that Grand Old Man being very aged and over-tired himself has sought his own expulsion from office : the whole Ministry of the Liberals professing to be the favourites of the majority of the people of England have walked out, and for the time being the Whigs and the Radicals are defunct as active members of the Government of England. You may say that just now the Tories have absorbed them and have appeared to be possessed of the

of Englanders! Such a change is startling, especially as it is not at the hustings that the fate of the Radicals has been decided, while the Tories have not yet been proclaimed masters by the electorates of Great Britain. The Gladstonians, therefore, cannot be said to have been as pointedly defeated as the Disraelites were after the great Midlothian campaigns The dissolution of the Parliament has not yet taken place, and the national votes as to what Government will be accepted by the nation will only be taken a few months hence. Thus the majority of the House of Commons which came in with Mr. Gladstone after the defeat of the late Lord Beaconsfield, are yet intact. We, therefore, consider that the Liberal Government have been placed under suspension with the cognizance of the nation and the sovereign. The Conservatives have to rule with the tacit approval of the Liberals, who, finding the Government too hot for them, have, as it were, sought a sort of compromise with the party in Opposition. They have thus got out of hot water and have succeeded in plunging the Conservatives into the most trying position, while the nation have shown signs of mistrust and disaffection towards the party led by Mr. Gladstone. They have managed to bring the state of affairs in some doubtful and anxious position, which may or may not eventually end in everything that is right and proper, but which the genius of the people of ngland has begun to strongly disapprove of. The premier must no doubt thinking that affairs are now what they should be, and that they are ..ly in the way of being properly adjusted, but that his supporters have grown weary of constantly propping him up! He might, therefore, very well attempt to punish the receders by getting his party to throw up the reins of Government just at a time when the nation is most anxious to know the results of the foreign policy of the statesman whom they once so unreservedly adored. This is of course our own view, which we take of the situation. Probably Mr. Gladstone may have apprehended evil results as issuing from the best he had attempted, and it would be quite right for him not to persist in the course of policy he has strenuously followed. He would wish in the interests of the nation to permit a change of treatment and watch the course of affairs for the next election. If everything went right and the Conservatives were returned, he might either seek repose, or reclothe his Liberals for again bringing the nation to his own ideal. If the Conservatives did not effect a successful administration by the time the reformed elections were complete, he would be ready to step into office

again for a short time, if only to demonstrate that Grand Old England's heart beat for no miserable creatures, but only for the magnificent Liberals! Thus he might aspire after securing a long term for them after being tested by trials and difficulties. Let the Liberals only live till HE lives—and then the deluge.

It is astonishing that the Conservatives have taken office without being called to do so by the nation. May we say that this event, however unusual, will serve to give us some guarantee as to the interests of our own empire—not to mention others which certainly perpetually influence ours. We may say just now—we do not care for the Liberals, the Radicals, or the Conservatives. If grave doubts have arisen how our frontier affairs would end; how our own vigorous Viceroy's consummate policy might be dealt with in the absence of any change in the Government, then the accession of the new personale is a decided gain to us. This much is true that the Russian Government will no more continue the interested protraction of affairs which they have attempted with a Liberal Government. They will not be permitted to break promises and engagements, and find out some loop-hole by which to pounce upon other people's territories to the detriment of this country. However lofty the sense of justice as owned by Mr. Gladstone, we fear he failed in estimating its due proportion in relation to Indo-Afghan affairs, the consequence being that the Czar's Government have been naturally emboldened to extend their influence so far that a dread of their might may be established in India—which, of course, is a most unwelcome thing which neither Earl Dufferin nor those having a solid experience of an Oriental country have for a moment desired. As regards Egypt, the popular opinion seems to be adverse to the conduct observed by the Liberal Government. Any such uncertainty or complication in Indian affairs would have probably created a much greater sensation.

Whatever some English journals may say as to the inexperience and impetuosity of Lord Randolph Churchill, he has instinctively adopted the right course in viewing, as he has done, the line of conduct observed by the Russian Government. We are amused at the efforts of some of the London journalists in predicting that evil might come from his discharge of the high office of the Indian Secretary at the present serious juncture, while they base their apprehensions on one of his Opposition speeches, in which he has made a very spirited attack on the Russian Government and their supposed abettors. We do not believe [illegible] -ll, as

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their supposed abettors. We do not believe

Secretary of State, is the same statesman who had inveighed against the late Government. He is a very bold, effective and intrepid speaker; as a party man he would be a formidable instrument to deal with. When he has the field of controversy to himself, he can be an uncompromising and a very bitter debater. He is a merciless exposer of faction-faults. But we refuse to believe that when once he has found the responsibilities of office fastened on him, he would be the same free lancer as he has been as an independent member in the House of Commons. In the practical concerns of administration, his Lordship may be found as profound and as wary and cautious as any practical statesman of the opposite bench. We have seen with what deliberate tact and caution he conducted himself in India, and how sensibly, wisely, and intuitively he replied to the vital questions put to him on his return from India. The replies he gave elicited the admiration of all elderly India, who know the sort of stuff which carries muster with the ignorant part of the public of India and England, as emanating from some of those specious sentimentalists whose noble efforts India cannot ignore, however raw or misguided they may be. When we had not for a moment supposed any possibility of Lord Randolph accepting our Viziership, it struck us from his demeanor in India and the scope and character of his travels in our country, that he was rather misrepresented in England. We fail to find weight in the utterance of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that his Lordship lacks any of the essential qualities which are needed for the administration of the Indian Empire. It is deplorable to find how loosely such assertions are made in England. If Lord Randolph is so useless for the high office he now occupies, how many noblemen who have held office before him could be said to have even been worse than him? There have been many indeed, a little better than mediocres and time-servers, of less experience of the Houses of Parliament, and completely ignorant of the state of the countries whose affairs they have administered. In Lord Randolph we have a man who has been in the House of Commons for over a decade. He is possessed of healthy, vigorous, straight-forward and ready instincts, and is an orator of a high stamp and a forward school; one who loves India, and who has with commendable exertions seen this vast country for himself. Whatever his party predilections, his instincts for official life are just what we need; what our own capable Viceroy may be badly in want of. While in India, the noble lord scrupulously and consistently, from beginning to end, refrained

from uttering a single word or taking a single step which would compromise or even embarrass the authority of the land. And yet he was then one of the most forward and the most influential members of the Opposition, who might have, if he was so disposed, cast India into a ferment of agitation.—*12th July*, 1885.

The Railway Racial Agitation.

No one will disapprove of our referring, in general terms, to the various railway incidents which give rise to unpleasantness between Europeans and Natives, first in very limited circles, and then throughout the world by the means of newspaper agitation. From individual grievances the circumstance fast grows into a political and racial question. There are, of course, warring partizans to be found in the Press, and as soon as a spark is ignited, the two inimical sides are formed for a hot contest. It is to be much doubted if permanent peace and good-will result from these wars of passions and prejudices, for any time some untoward incident occurring, the same furious agitation disturbs the public, deepening perhaps more the certain amount of estrangement now existing between the rulers and the ruled.

We hope and trust that we may soon see the time when the European and Native communities will travel together peacefully. While we say this, we are cognizant of the facts that a humane desire exists in large numbers of both Natives and Europeans to yield to mutual convenience and comfort, and that in but very few cases the latent racial prejudices existing accidently grow into a quarrel which may be compared to something similar to a donkey forced into a tiger's skin! There is no doubt that the timely interference of Government, whatever its actual effects be in individual instances, helps towards the formation of an healthy public opinion in both communities.

We might as well make our meaning clear by adducing some illustrations. We say that European prejudices against travelling in the same carriage with Natives should decrease, for many mistakes are made by our European brethren by not freely associating with the natives. The toleration of the latter, as a class, towards their much humbler brethren is imitable, in that a Merchant will permit his Mehta to sit with him, or that a Sowcar will think nothing demeaning in travelling in a third class carriage with a host of very inferior persons. F. native

officers with full conscience, good sense, and generosity, will now and anon look into a third class carriage, if only for the purpose of obtaining information about the social and material lives passed by the lower, but highly useful classes of the commonwealth, or about the effects produced in the populace by various administrative measures.

What is a European to do, however, if he finds the only first class compartment occupied by no usually decent native, but one who may appear repulsive, both in his clothing and in his manners ? It would be best to consult the law of the land on the subject. Such a person comes within its measurable distance, and the Railway Company is the authority to apply civil compulsion with the legal guarantee to back them up. But a large-minded European, who has probably much weightier things to engage his mind during the leisure which travel affords, will probably walk into any compartment and avoid delay and provocation. He can take an action of this sort as well as prudent natives would do in the opposite case of the only compartment occupied by European rowdies, revelling in cigars and brandy, and emitting smells not certainly less strong than that of an ill-mannered Hindu, Parsi, or Mahomedan. When a patient—whether a male or female—is in urgent need of rest, and the fact is duly made known, we cannot conceive of one person among a hundred Europeans or Natives, who would grudge to yield. Supposing a Governor or a Prince travels *incognito* in his own territories, and finds in the only first class carriage a husband and his wife : will he force them to seperate, or directly repair to another carriage ? He is likely to do the latter.

In all cases of disputes between railway passengers, the railway authorities of a station ought henceforth to be able to settle the disputes themselves. The laws of right and propriety have both to go hand in hand on the railway platform, or in the train. We are of opinion that no unseemly racial disputes ought to occur which would necessitate action from the highest quarters of the Government. The railway companies would do well to instruct their officials to deal with such disputes in a firm, cordial and impartial manner, deciding questions of rights and courtesy in a way which would satisfy all parties. Whether the parties are European or Native grandees on the one side, and uninfluential Natives or Europeans on the other, the railway authorities in charge are the proper men to settle such disputes in the light of law and reason. If the law or any clear reasonable course is allowed to be violated by the responsible railway

official, he is amenable to suitable punishment. If any party, whether a European or a Native, has suffered inconvenience or in reputation, he has his remedy in law against the offending party and the responsible man abetting him. When Government have done all they could in warning their own servants, that if they be wanting in consideration towards the weak, that consideration should be unfailingly shown them, we submit Government does all that is expected of it. The relations which arise in public travelling have thus been made clear. In all such cases hereafter, the law must be allowed to take its course, and the law must be vindicated and explained by the responsible servants when they have to deal with disputes between passengers. If they do not fail in their duty, there is no reason why such comparatively little matters should in future engross the very valuable time of the Government. If legal remedies are well understood, and the law is properly enforced by the railway companies, there will be no need for severe *departmental* action being taken by the Government. The worst necessity that may be felt in future would be for a further legal provision in the Railway Act, rendering a refusal to submit to the specified legal orders of a duly appointed railway authority punishable in a Court of Law. We shall then effectually remove most of the railway ratial contentions from the bitter region of newspaper sentimentalism and extra-judicial remedies. We beg that the contemporaries of the day on both sides may ponder over the view here taken of the present agitation.—*30th August*, 1885.

India's Appeal to the British Electors.

We have read the appeal sent from India to the Electors of Great Britain with great pleasure and interest. It will always remain as an important document remarkable for its moderate, conciliatory and comprehensive spirit. If there be any possibility of the British Electorates being influenced by solitary leaflets and speeches to pay serious attention to vital questions concerning the Queen's Eastern Empire, this appeal may have that effect, though we may differ from some of the less important views contained therein. The document is one sufficient to arrest our attention and require more than a passing reflection.

The first passage ably delineates the conditions in which the British found themselves possessed of India and the germs of the bright future for India which accompanied that possession. "T' ' . -sixth of

"the human race and are bound to you by kith and kin and by all that is "sacred and true, we have no voice in the affairs of our own country." And accordingly the Electors are asked to support only those candidates for the next Parliament who can assure them that they will have justice done to India. Before the British took India "our future was most uncertain," which is nearly true. But to say that we had then "national traditions of civil freedom" is hardly as much correct. We loved to be possessed of those traditions which the internal dissensions did not permit, but which the imperial light generated from the combined forces of the West and the East are now in a fair way of granting to India.

We like it to be said as it runs in the second passage, that "our well being is so indissolubly united with your own :" one of those accurate sentiments which we have sought to insert into the mind of native India for a quarter of a century. The most elevated points of both England and India must meet on the same level. We are instructed to have it so by the cardinal principles of the Crown ever acting on recurring intervals to set right the narrow monopolies which interfered with the purely benign foundations of British intervention and supremacy—whether those monopolies referred to the public trade, the services, or vitiated the highest trusts or the state and political life and integrity enjoyed by the native chiefs. None of these reformed strides were, however, accomplished without the Crown and the Parliament having themselves taken the initiative as inspirited by the acts and intentions of statesmen not different from those who now form the crowning points of the British sceptre—whether serving in India or England ; whether of one party or another. Through these saint-like personages we are now enabled to make our way towards the noble soul of Great Britain centred in the hands of their honorable electors. We thank the Bombay Presidency Association primarily, and the rest of the principal Associations in India, for making this courageous and historical move.

The third passage pourtrays the dawn which now slowly breaks upon us to illustrate the prime danger against which India and England have to make an efficient provision as a united nation ; otherwise their fate would be doomed. It is in no uncertain tone in which the necessity at least for this provision is indicated, and we quote this passage entire with the satisfaction which we must feel in observing that the paramount duty on

which we have again and again insisted is at last realized by native India :—

"The present is a most opportune moment for thus taking stock of the results which have been achieved in the past. More vividly than on any previous occasion, the value of the connection which subsists between the two countries has been forced upon your attention by recent events. India forms the pivot round which moves the entire imperial or foreign policy of England. Your interests in the fortunes of Central Asia, in Turkey, in Egypt, in the Soudan, in South Africa, in distant China, all centre round your care for the possession of this country. For the first time your insulation which had often been regarded as justifying indifference to the movements of the great European powers has ceased to exist, and some of those powers have extended the limits of their possessions within close vicinity to your Indian frontiers. How to safeguard your interests is the question of the hour, which you are called upon to decide in a way worthy of your place among nations. Indian topics will form the chief planks of your political platform, on which in a thousand places those who lead and form public opinion will address you, when they seek your votes Your constituencies have been by recent legislation increased in numbers and strength, and now, more than ever before, the great mass of the working classes in town and country will realise both their powers and responsibilities. These special considerations encourage us to hope that the work, so nobly undertaken in the past, will be continued by you in the present with a full sense of the sacred trust laid upon you. No new principles have to be laid down. Your work will chiefly be to enforce the principles that have been repeatedly declared by our Gracious Sovereign and Parliament as binding upon your servants here in their administration of this great empire"

The only misfortune is that the fact that foreign powers of very doubtful motives and humanity having sought to outstrip India in dreaded strength has been recognized by Bombay and general India as late as the electors of Great Britain have done for themselves.

We heartily welcome such expressions as these—'Mind the attacks from abroad.' 'Mind the absence of reserves in men and means wanted to meet outside attacks.' We find these in the fourth passage along with the other wants and grievances of India. The suggestion for a complete permanent settlement of land revenues is not quite happy, nor about the industrial development being in foreign hands. The extravagance of the cost of Home charges and the public services, the present utter demartialization of all peoples and states, the unchecked devastating famines, the grossly defective government councils are the right points to put into the ears of the millions of electors. But it is not quite appropriate to say that "the taxes are trenching upon the margin of subsistence." It would be quite right to say that many of the ablest classes of the Indian populations, European and Native, trench upon the margin of subsistence of the Government and the poor people. Again, we need not infer that we are

trenching upon the margin of subsistence of the poorer classes by an imaginary equalization of the rates of taxation payable by the poor and the rich. It has taken very long for India to adopt scientific, economic and beneficial methods of taxation, and we fear we shall still take more time in carrying the country with us in boldly maintaining the maximum of taxation and all the equitable taxes which must be borne, and not forsaken as now, for the sake of our best and most vital concerns. When shall we have our Associations to consider these problems in their full and fair light—a measure by the means of which we should be able to get the public debt reduced, and the strength of the empire in men and money increased? If it is in the power of the British electors to compel the Parliament to introduce a new era of reforms in India, it is no less the duty of our public men to assist the Government actively in devising the measures, in which their co-operation is indispensable, but is at present so much deficient. What is wanting in India itself cannot be much repaired by moving England.

The fifth passage refers to what is considered as an imperative obligation of those who may be returned for the next Parliament, *i.e.*, they must insist on a Commission of Inquiry being appointed to ascertain the abuses prevalent in India, and what would be the best remedies in pursuance of the proposition recently brought forward by Lord Randolph Churchill, the Secretary of State for India. Very much will depend on the basis supplied to such a Commission to work upon and the character of the Commission adopted. We have our own propositions to bring forward on this important question, which we shall gladly do when the time comes.

In para. sixth we find it strongly maintained that "the temptation or "policy to resist aggressions by meeting the enemy far away from our "frontiers being dazzling with the magnificence of its ambition should be "resisted," and that the already impoverished resources of the country should not be burdened with the extra expenditure of two or three millions annually. We welcome again expressions such as these—'make India self-sustaining'—'don't let it become the sport of the policy of the foreign nations'—'create national reserves out of the armies of Native States'—'take Indian Princes into complete confidence.' But for these ideas being taken up so late, we should not have been put in the present dilemma: whether to send a "robust protest" against the proposed additional expenditure, or be quietly subject to the essential extra expenditure which we may find India charged with to our grief and dismay.

The appeal-makers are in error in confounding two important questions together, which they have done terrified by the new expenditure intended to be imposed on the country. Whether India's defences should include Afghanistan or not, should be decided on its own merits : let the cost of it, however heavy, remain a matter to be separately dealt with. Both the Premier and the Secretary of State have arrived at the only sound conclusion which is possible to arrive at in the matter. We have over and over again demonstrated the fact, that if we allow Afghanistan to fall into the hands of the Enemy now posted at our Gate, we might as well leave the whole of the North-west of India to him, and that to lose Afghanistan is to sacrifice half the defences of India. It is a grave blunder to treat Afghanistan as England would treat France. If Afghanistan is not to be defended along with India, the Indian Associations would be perfectly right in protesting against the additional expenditure proposed, for in that case there would hardly be any necessity for increasing the military strength of India so much as now proposed. It is a remarkable coincidence that both the great and opposed parties in England have practically arrived at the same conclusion which we have insisted upon for years together, that Russia cannot menace Herat without doing injury to India. Has not the most Radical of the Ministers—Mr. Gladstone—exerted with all his might to arrest the progress of Russia at Penjdeh and Zulficar ? What did his preparations mean if both Afghanistan and India were not threatened by the Russian advance a little short of Herat ? It is surely no "dazzling magnificence" which has affected the statesmen who have held that Afghanistan should be kept intact ; for they have been influenced by practical considerations of the most serious import. If we have anything to do with the Afghans, they must either be our friends or foes. If they are retained as our friends, they would like us much better than the vulgar and the covetous Russians. If they are once allowed to get under the iron heels of Russia, these wolves will be stimulated to join with the bear to plunder and ravage India when a serious and general war broke out. Our public men must understand that we have not yet obtained the normal efficacy of our military strength and expenditure. Though we have been unable to get the immoralities of this expenditure checked and to insist upon our mother-country bearing a fair share in our external and imperial defences as far as these may be necessitated by the aggressions of foreign nations against the Imperial

Suzerain, there are no reasons why the wise, the prudent, and the far-seeing measure so cordially adopted by Earl Dufferin and Lords Salisbury and Randolph, and acquiesced in by Mr. Gladstone and Earl Granville, should not be enforced without a moment's delay. The additional expenditure would not be so disastrous as the ill-visioned timidity which may hereafter dictate the abandonment of the task of reorganizing our friendly Afghanistan and creating an additional force to back up its own strength for resisting the impudent foreign aggression which is now planted at the foot of the Paropamisus Range. The season, when all this should be done, ought not to be spoiled by the inadequate representation we are here noticing, though we applaud the motives dictating it.

Rather insist upon the imperative duty of utilizing the immense forces of the Native States and setting face against the dreaded additional burden talked about. Again, agitate equally strongly about the duty of England to share in the expenses of the imperial defences and suspending the inequitous expenditures incurred here and in England. But because you may not be able to comply with the demand for further expenditure, do not imperil the peace and safety of the empire ; and it would be a national crime of the highest magnitude to find the country failing to become self-acting in its own defence and in that of its neighbour on a general war becoming so complicated that the throats of the mother and the children were found strangled in all directions at one and the same time. If we have been wrong in our fears, show by facts and figures how the British Empire could stand its foes without complying with the modern necessity of keeping up the full military strength, as every Power in the world, except England, has already done.

We, of course, cannot help extremely sympathizing with the enjoinment to the electors—" It also rests with you, as the ultimate source of all " power, to enforce through those whom you will select to represent you " in the coming Parliament, peace, retrenchment, and a wide extension of " native agency generally in the administration as the most just and safest " policy to pursue for the rulers of this country." It is a pity that to such an excellent programme the not less important words of—" Do not fail also to render your Indian Empire strong and inviolate, whatever the disturbances which may agitate Europe or Asia, or whatever be the machinations employed to undo India—" were not added.—*11th October*, 1885.

Our Difficulties at the next British Elections.

We have re-published the letters of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., C. S. I., and Mr. Dosabhai Framji, C. S. I., intimating to the Bombay Presidency Association, their resignations of the offices held by them. The Secretaries to that Association have, under instructions from the Council, addressed a spirited reply to Sir Jamsetjee. The question raised on both sides is of no mean significance. We are glad that it has been raised, for the advanced natives of India must try and ascertain for themselves what would be the most effective method of influencing the British constituencies in favor of India, and what mistakes we may be liable to commit in attaining that end. It is this issue which Messrs. Mehta, Telang and Dinshaw Wacha have raised, and Sir Jamsetjee and Mr. Dosabhai have also indicated for the judgment of the public. It is to be regretted that circumstances do not seem to have favored a dispassionate and impersonal handling of the question. For the position which should be secured to carry on a controversy of high political importance, such as the present one is, should be altogether free of all minor matters, and so secure and so invulnerable that our cause in England may evoke unchallenged sympathies. In basing our position, we have to bear in mind a series of elementary facts. In the bringing up of India in the Electoral campaigns of England, the ready assumption of the mass would be that it was at any rate a very awkward intrusion. Educated Indians have not yet established themselves in the heart of England as it were, as they have not yet succeeded in going there in large numbers, or making themselves heard by the means of a powerful journal on the spot for which we have repeatedly made mention in our papers. Any constituency to be expected to favor the Indian cause will first look to the interests of its own country and those of Great Britain. It is most difficult for us to know what those multifarious and conflicting interests are, and how any of them could be handled in a manner that would win over the voters on our side. The native candidates know immeasurably better than ourselves what would easily move the springs of those constituencies, while most of our own or the foreign candidates would be at sea how to perform the miracle. We may endeavour to adopt a perfectly straightforward policy in the cause of Indian interests, but if that course of action militates against that of any of the native candidates whose programme are likely to be accepted by the constituencies applied to, the foreign programme might require a sensible modification. We have to

deal with a difficulty of great magnitude for some time to come, in that not more than one or two natives of India are expected to be accepted. Whereas India require a very large number of its representatives sitting in Parliament, they could only serve India so far that they succeed in endearing themselves to their constituencies. It is England which rules India; the latter has therefore no voice in moulding the affairs of the former. It must be further understood that none of the native members themselves could have their individual cause predominate over the general instincts of the Parliament. If it be so in the case of European members, much more so will it be as regards our own members. The poor Indian flag can only appear last of all, and even then it has to follow that of the British Jack in whichever direction it may triumph. We cannot just now calculate upon our own independent triumph; we have to follow the lead of the triumphant party in England. We have somehow or other to be within the folds of that party till we can assert for ourselves. Those who may be deemed our best friends to-day may turn out indifferent ones to-morrow; if they were incapable of doing this themselves; circumstances may force them to be so. Possibly, also, whom we may consider our foes at one time, we may not grudge to accept as our friends at another. As far as possible for the present, our strength can only be asserted in due proportion to the elements of success which may be existing in our favor. We shall have to meet with failures no doubt, and if such failures ensue even after every precaution is taken and every political sagacity employed, events on our side will rather progress than be retarded.

With these fundamental observations before them, the readers will be better able to comprehend the merits of the question raised in the correspondence under notice. Sir Jamsetjee states that the reason of his resigning the presidentship is that the original laudable and moderate programme, which had his warm sympathy and support, has been departed from by the Association latterly instructing its delegates to hold up certain European gentlemen as fit men to represent India, and certain others as possessing no confidence of our people. The Association replies that this its action is only "an ample development" of the principle adopted by the old Bombay Association in 1870 when the electors of Hackney were addressed for the late Mr. Fawcett. It may be noticed with regret that no full and previous understanding was arrived at between those responsible for the doings of the Association in regard to the desirability

or otherwise of *mentioning* the candidates for the black list and those for the bright list.

If a particular party is recommended, it would follow that Indian interests were used in the interests of one party in England to the exclusion of another. So says Sir Jamsetjee, but the Association employs the strongest language in disavowing any such intentions. And they further point out that they have used the parties only to advance Indian interests. Now it is most difficult to decide if the Liberals do nothing but pure good to India, and the Conservatives nothing but evil. It is most difficult we say to put the issue between these two more or less debateable points. The Liberals have been very easy and generous in their sentiments, and when a pliable opportunity occurred, they would no doubt concede a popular and far-seeing measure to India. But they would at the same time omit other far-seeing things. If by doing anything it may temporarily prove unpopular to the natives of India, the Liberals would hardly take a step of that sort; while the Conservatives would. None of the two parties could, however, venture to carry out any policy which would meet with the strong disapproval of the mass of the inhabitants of Great Britain, and which would be a distinct loss to them. The present tendency of the parties in England is *to approach towards each other's aims as much as this could be done with* individual safety secured. Hence it is that we do not despair of being badly treated either by the Conservatives or the Liberals. Again, it cannot be denied that certain policies are sometimes inaugurated by either of the parties which, though dictated by the best of intentions, give rise, however, to great differences of opinion. Such a position of affairs has barely anything to do with the inherent characteristics of any of the parties. Reflecting upon the characteristics of individuals belonging to either party, we must not lose sight of the fact that a Liberal is sometimes as apt to be a Conservative as a Conservative is apt to be a Liberal. Taking the whole of the Parliamentary forces together, none of them could do very considerable which is special in the Indian interests, and if these interests are to be really advanced they should be potentially represented by India itself. We have thus seen the difficulties of drawing an expressly sharp line between parties and individuals in England which could provide for us a perfectly smooth sailing there. If we had numerous and able native canvassers in England, we should very much [illegible] t[illegible] in

influencing the Electors themselves to call upon their representatives to form such intelligent views about India as would merit the commendation of the best of its sons. When a correct general feeling of this sort is created in England, the question of adopting personal names for either of the two purposes set before the Association will hardly come within the range of a workable policy, whereas the tone of public men of all shades is likely to be much improved. The strength of the delegates will be well employed if the measures brought forward for India, whether they tend to its good or evil, are effectively discussed from whomsoever they may originate. When the meaning of the measures and intents propounded by any candidates are made plain and forcible, those who may range by the side of reason and higher obligations are likely to be better dealt with than those who may be found wanting in that appreciation. The Electors are more swayed by persons before them and the manifestoes they lay before them, whether they meant attention or indifference to India. It strikes us, therefore, that our vigor may be employed with skill in an indirect manner to circumvent the influences which may be exercised by those unable to place Indian affairs at the top of their demonstrations. It would be necessary for a long time to come to put forward any pushing ability which we may possess, while it is also needful that we ally that character with considerable diplomatic and political tact. We cannot afford to have our strength too much tested just at present, while we should be advancing a deal more perhaps by employing winning tactics.

In regard to the dispute which has arisen in the Association, we shall watch with interest the result of the delegates acting upon the instructions sent them. If they are men possessed of great judgment, discretion and cool temper, we are sure that they will follow the most successful course which neither Sir Jamsetjee and Mr. Dosabhai nor the other members of the Association will fail to heartily recognize. The public in general would have been more gratified than now if the differences had been smoothed over before they came to their notice. The Association cannot afford but be strong from all sides rejoicing in a perfect general unanimity of principles and views, and in this spirit only can we venture to offer our observations.—*25th October* 1885.

A VERY competent authority writes to us from England as below :—

Elections in England *versus* Indian Affairs.

"We are just now in a state of great excitement about the approaching Election. The Bombay Association has, I think, very unwisely sent some Indian delegates to represent India on the Liberal side, as against the Conservatives, and with instructions to oppose the election of certain gentlemen who have held high office in India. In this matter India should have nothing to do with *party* questions. Her claims and wants may fairly be put forward, but these will receive as much thought from one side as the other, and I know well that many Conservatives are amongst her best friends. As to the Radicals, they are a most selfish, and untrustworthy class, and from them India will never get any real consideration. They have no sympathy or good feelings, and care only for themselves and their own aims and objects. May God protect India and its people from them !!"

It may be remembered that we some time ago dwelt upon the question which the Bombay Association had raised by making an express mention of the British statesmen who should not, in its opinion, be trusted in regard to Indian affairs, and of those who should be. Our able and esteemed correspondent disapproves of the action taken, and whoever may be the party who is returned to power in the present Electoral campaign, we doubt not that the view expressed by our correspondent will receive every weight which it deserves. It must be remembered that he does not disapprove of our primary step in despatching the delegates from India, for he dislikes it only so far that they were sent with the express purpose of running down the Conservatives and applauding the Liberals at the expense of the former, and in regard to their conduct towards India. When we had our say, we rather preferred to discuss impartially the merits of the measure boldly adopted, but we now find that some strong feeling has been excited against it in England. We do not quite prefer the mode of singling out individuals on the sharp line of condemning them as inimical to the interests of India, for we would thus incur the danger of lessening the ranks of those who may be really desirous of doing us good. Unless we have a covenant from a powerful party,—who may, again, have gained a permanent tenure in the government of this Empire—which may secure for all times to come an unmixed liberal government for India, it hardly appears expedient to allow India to fall a prey to any party purpose. And so far we cordially agree with our wise and experienced Censor that we should be wary before letting India be drawn into the vortex of a party warfare. Thus far it will be seen—and we thank our diligent and influential correspondent for affording us a test for our recent reflections—that the tact and skill comprehended by us

PART V.

THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION.

"My policy will be guided by those ancient principles upon which the British Empire in India was originally founded, which have ever since been interwoven with its structure and vindicated in turn by each of my illustrious predecessors, namely, a justice which neither prejudice nor self-interest can pervert, an impartiality between all religions and races, which refuses to be irritated by criticism or cajoled by flattery, and a beneficence of intention which seeks to spread abroad amongst the many millions of her Majesty's subject in this country contentment, prosperity, wealth, education, professional advancement, a free scope to municipal institutions, and every other privilege which is compatible with effectual and authoritative Government. (Cheers.) In saying this I am not speaking in my own name, nor merely as the head of the Indian administration, I am speaking in the name of the Queen-Empress herself, and not only of the Queen, but of the Parliament and the people of England, who are fully determined that English rule in India shall be so blamelessly and vigorously conducted as to become the crowning glory of our country's history, and that any grievance or wrong which her Majesty's subjects can complain of, whether princes or people, whether native or British-born, shall be examined into, and, so far as the imperfection of all human administration will allow, abated or redressed."—*Speech of the Earl of Dufferin at the Calcutta Trades Association Dinner.*

Administrative and Political Reforms in India.

HERE is the watchword and the reply for the British Indian statesman in India. Here is the outcome of the safest wisdom which the ablest autocratic and most benevolent ruler can show in India. It must calm the fears and anxieties of British officials; it must somewhat calm native politicians as well.

Meanwhile there is no general programme for India. We have the most enthusiastic writings from the pen of Sir Auckland Colvin down to Mr. Malabari in reference to what India wants. The leading men of Bombay have talked eloquently on the necessity of the British Government attending to native representations—such as their newly established Association intend sending them from time to time. Sir T. Madhavrao has at last scented the Russian danger to India, and advocated the very monarchical institution for India, which I fully pointed out many years ago. It is nearly a decade since I first described the constitution necessary for India's safety and prosperity. It was my theory, but a theory as it has been the disconnected links of it have here and there been perceived

by practical people. I repeat there is no feasible programme as yet projected for India.

One solitary Ruler has laid down the policy which for the present can be best pursued in India. On the other hand, we have had any amount of inspiriting talk from one end of the country to another. But no public man, no public association, has yet laid the groundwork for future India, on which it may be safe for all to act for half a century at least. Lots of noble ideas and aspirations float on the surface; any amount of sentimental and philosophical dissertations have been put forth. These are Indiaful. What a miserable disproportion of anything tangible is done. The prime cause of this poverty is,—no one has any substantial far-seeing programme to act upon. Some give out froth; others repress it. Some are dazzled by the glitter; others shut their eyes to, or refuse to be dazzled by, it. There is such a play of winged insects in sunshine, in rain, in the break of weather, and around the lamp. All that the viceregal lords of the creation can do is partly to be amused at them, partly to be anxious about their safety and right disposal. In the midst of glamour, of exuberant fertility, of excessive cries in chaos and darkness, the programme cannot be found, and much less, if found, it can be acted upon.

The programme can only be framed with the utmost care. It can only be based on the thin but sure outline I have placed at the head of this as the early light in the Eastern horizon presaging the rise of that Indian Sun which the gifted Indian Secretary, Mr. Mackenzie, told us about the other day. The greatest of all difficulties is how to let in the flood of light gradually, and how best to use it.

High sounding, glowing generalizations, and platitudes are of comparatively little worth. Brilliant philosophies will not do much active work. Stray petitions on stray occasions are not of much practical use. The difficulty is to know how to take the castle, following only the peaceful measures; and when taken how to settle down in it: new and old men all on friendly terms, none being driven out, and every one within finding his own occupation.

The best promise for advance and success is whenever the capacity for doing a friendly and profitable business anent public affairs is shown by us. Take up first of all the revenue and expenditure sides of the country. Let us know if there is one native public man, one native public association who have thoroughly mastered the public finances of the country: its practical ways and means.

Let there be a financial non-official Parliament. No Parliament, in the true sense of the term, will just now be allowed to India. Instead of a ponderous association let there be a financial Parliament founded on self-imposed obligations. Take up the previous budgets, study them thoroughly, compare its facts and figures with the actual internal circumstances from which they may have been drawn, and let each member of that Parliament criticise it and throw out tangible suggestions to improve the revenues and regulate the expenditures. The proceedings of the people's representatives should be published far and wide *and sent to the Government.*

This is one method which may eventually induce the Government to select from this non-official assembly members of proved merit to join the Executive Council, which may then never think of passing the country's budget without discussing and improving it in a public manner. This will form one of the remedies by which legitimate and wasteful expenditures may be exposed, and the regular and irregular sources of revenue brought into full light. This is one specific manner in which a full knowledge of the conditions, wants and aspirations of the country may be gained—an element in which our public men are so deficient, and hence is properly disregarded by Government. Instead of employing indefinite platitudes and indulging in tall and aimless and enthusiastic and denunciatory talk, go straight to the point, prove yourselves to be business-like men, and show the poor, hardworked, and often annoyed Government of the country that you can indicate a better way of spending your money; that you can find more practical ways of enhancing the prosperity of definite sects of your communities; that you can unobjectionably get more money than the actual administrators can; that you know how the military defences of the Empire are weak; that you know what are the practical ways to strengthen them; that you really understand how the Queen can hold the country at the same time that She formed an impregnable bulwark against all external foes; that you are alive to the fact that there is no chance of the corporate civilization of the country being any day endangered while you constantly babble about the few sons of the soil not getting their due share of the loaves and the fishes. It is no overwhelming patriotic fervour, no gushing enthusiasm, no self-delusive vanities, no words of soothing succour from the Olympian heights, nor pompous texts from great writers, *that will prove of much practical worth.* O! del [illegible] away

this showiness mistaken for substance, and once for all assume the real, the genuine soul of business.

Every large question should be thoroughly and openly discussed in the people's assembly or the non-official Parliament, before a representation is made to the Government on the subject. As one of the first measures—discuss the eligibility of some high-posted judicial native officer of long standing in the service, or some native officer of great administrative experience to be recommended as an executive member in the Viceregal or a subordinate Government's Council. If this be not practicable just now, induce the Government to promise that certain classes of native officials will be eligible to executive seats in the Council on so many years' approved service.

The public association or the people's Parliament should also press on the Government the necessity of admitting honorary members into the Executive Councils, who should have a right of vote on important matters brought forward for discussion—the nature of which to be previously defined in a specially enacted law. It would be well if these honorary members for the Supreme Executive Council were selected from a list submitted by the Viceroy's Government to the Government at home, which would be duly guided by public discussions held in India.

While an experiment of this sort is put in progress it may be ascertained if very enlightened and extensively elected Boards in large centres are capable of submitting a list of honorary members for the Executive Councils—such as may be decided upon by the Government in the absence of such influential Boards.

It would be impossible for the indigenous elements to associate themselves with the practical work of Government in its highest branches unless they have first proved their capacity for it by working on clear lines by the means of public associations at the centres of Government. First, in such outlying fields they have to demonstrate their aptitude to grapple with every administrative question needing scrutiny, amendment, or development, and to point out the various new beneficial courses which it may be possible to strike out. It is safe for both the country and the Government that the moral and mental faculties of the would-be leaders should be first exercised by practice and discipline before they can be effectively applied to Government.

As every centre of Government in India require an active political

association, so one of this class will be needed in London before we can effectively force improvements in the constitution of the India Office. Not only an Association is required there, but also a powerful constant exponent of native opinion to create an India-party in England. This scheme has been already explained in previous issues. Sure steps ought to be taken to find out capable and independent critics representing native India to procure for them an admission into the India Office with a view to give effect to the discussion and publicity of prominent Indian measures at the Home Board. How soon can India succeed in returning a few practical members to watch and assist the action of the Secretary of State and his Council may depend on the political influence and ability displayed in India. Probably for some time to come a probation in the Executive and Legislative Councils may better fit native members to represent India at its chief office in London. It is thus that a more effectual way than any now existing can be paved for some notable admission into the British Parliament itself. A laborious and definite working of several political associations in India must in itself result in the training of members for the Parliament and the Home Office. What is first needed in every direction is to command the fullest information on every administrative, political and social problem dealt with by the Government, and by discussion and representation convince responsible authorities as to the undoubted methods by which a more popular and, therefore, a more beneficial state of things might ensue. The difficulties in the way of perfecting an impartial and vigorous administration are always great indeed. These are practical factors in the way of all reformers, and it is by sympathizing in these difficulties that we may ultimately succeed in bringing about that radical change in the constitution of the State which, in practice, is likely to turn out superior to the present system. Appeals to mere sense of justice and to the higher obligations due to India from England will not prove as potent as the laying out of actual capacity in *all available directions which alone could practically induce* amelioration in public affairs. Here a sound basis for telling action may be gained, which a fervour of sentimentalism, however widespread, cannot in itself secure.—*8th February*, 1885.

About half-a-dozen vacancies will shortly occur in that antiquated body which works in London as the 'India Council' controlling the autocratic Viceregal Rule in India. That so many vacancies have partly occurred, and are partly to occur, under the presidency of that young and dashing Reformer, Lord Randolph Churchill, is at any rate an event which presumably should place considerable new influence in his Lordship's hands, if that influence can be used while he is at the India Office to renovate its constitution in the interests of representative India. We are not inclined, as moral and intellectual India is now situated, to condemn wholesale either the personnale, or the conduct and procedures of that august office as affecting the ordinary interests of India. It would be presumptuous to deny the tried ability and integrity of the supreme men of wisdom who control the actions of the Indian autocrats. That each and all have not been doing their best, striving to keep the wheels of the administrative machinery at a moderate, calculated and unfrictionable pace, would be sheer stupidity to deny. That they have from time to time generated a restraining force behind rapid and unheeding strides performed in India cannot also be denied. That they have, on the other hand, on many occasions, responded to the broad and generous instincts displayed by Indian Proconsuls, cannot also be overlooked. It is fashionable to call our great sages as an antiquated body, and yet they have had to exercise most responsible functions as between the Crown and the Parliament and their Indian dependency. We do not know what India and England would have done, had not this institution—the supreme arbiter of destinies—come into existence to receive and respond to the multifarious, complex, and troublesome echoes from India. While Great Britain sent dashing and enterprising ruling agents in India, she placed them under the supple thumb of her many sons who had themselves returned from India, tempered by trials and mollified by precious experience. They have at any rate occupied the position of a lofty sentinel placed on a distant eminence which could take at any critical period a sweeping broad bird's-eye view of the poor struggling creatures below. Their aged, golden vision, freed of all passion and dross, must have often pierced into the apparently unbounded region of apprehensions, suspicions, and knotty problems, tying up at times the many unmanageable and chaotic elements ruffling the Indian surface that they have generally commanded in tolerant omni-

The India Council and its vacancies.

potence. True that the body is always possessed of a good amount of callous wisdom, which, however, has also been disinfected by the fresh and vigorous crowning spirit that has invariably supervised this weighty institution. The Indian sages have to a certain extent served the purpose of Indian representatives, without whose knowledge and experience any Indian Secretary in England would have been a ship without its chain-cable. If that were so, a Parliament directly dealing with Indian affairs would be a most meaningless and unwieldy instrument for any practical use. When, therefore, we come to say, 'Sweep off the India Council as an useless encumbrance,' we are brought face to face with doubts and difficulties of no ordinary sort. The conclusion we arrive at is: it is impracticable for the present to abolish it; we cannot easily abolish it; nor should we do so till at least we actually found something better to take its place. There is any amount of room, no doubt, to amend it, to amplify it, to re-energize it, and to make it more practically representative for improving the resources of India and placing it on a path tending to make it national and strong and more truly federated to the Queen's Empire, so as to effectually and independently punish the wanton aggressions of its great semi-Asiatic foe who makes unwarranted and stealthy advances with the base object of plunging it in anarchy. If these large objects are to be attained—and these are the really grave patriotic objects which ought to constantly move every patriot in India—all we have to do is not to give up wholly the Grand Old Institution which has hitherto served our aims—however deficiently. The old foundations are true and stable, and on them let us refit our renovated superstructure. No politician, however ardent and radical, can earnestly say: "Do away with the India Council, limb and body." We do not doubt that the conclusion which Lord Randolph may have arrived at even so early as now cannot be differing much from the one we have here expressed in general terms.

It is on lines like the above that our considerations in reference to the India Council question are likely to take, and these lines must come into prominence, while the tendency of public opinion in London seems a little too stringent than the actual conditions and circumstances call for. On this point we shall quote a well-informed writer from London in one of our daily contemporaries :—

"The fact that Lord Randolph Churchill not long ago, when in a position of greater freedom,

and less responsibility expressed, the opinion that it would be a good thing for India and for England if the Council of India were abolished, gives considerable importance to an inspired paragraph which appeared the other day in the leading Ministerial journal. It pointed out that the election of Sir William Muir as the Principal of the University of Edinburgh, the appointment of Sir Henry Maine as Permanent Under-Secretary at the Home Office, the expiration of Sir Barrow Ellis's term of service, and the desire of Sir Frederick Halliday, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and Colonel Yule to be relieved of their duties, will leave the Council of India short of nearly half its members. The almost simultaneous withdrawal of six such men involves a complete reconstruction of the Council, and offers a unique opportunity for a drastic remedy, which would probably be displeasing to none but the remaining recipients of what has latterly become little more than an extra retiring allowance for distinguished officers in the Indian services. It is a singular coincidence that such an opportunity should have fallen to a Minister who so recently affirmed the necessity for radical change.

"And if the Ministerial journals are to be inspired to advocate the reform, it is not easy to perceive where the Council of India will find friends in the press. The Radical newspapers have all eagerly applauded the *Standard's* suggestion.

"The Council," says a leading one, "gives some twelve or fourteen retired Indian officials a comfortable annuity in addition to their very liberal pensions, but it is of little service to India. Composed almost entirely of re-actionaries, it is active only in opposing reform. But for the Council, the suggestions of the Indian Army Commission—suggestions backed up by the Viceroy and all his Council—would have been acted upon with the result that the Indian army charges would have been reduced by about a million a year. This is but a sample of the injury the Council inflicts upon India; and if the Government had the courage to suggest its abolition, now that half its members have retired or are about to retire from it, they would receive very considerable support from the Opposition members." At the same time it will be prudent not to deduce too much from anything which Lord Randolph Churchill has said before he took office.* * * All that can be said of his opinions regarding India is that they seem to have been more seriously expressed than was the wont of the right honourable member for Woodstock. Thus the other night Mr. Buchanan asked the Secretary of State for India whether he still adhered to the opinion which he expressed on the 3rd June last that a parliamentary inquiry into the Government of India Act was "an effectual and effective part of the policy now so absolutely necessary to strengthen the British hold upon India;" and if so, what steps he proposed to take to carry out that policy. In reply Lord Randolph said that so far as he is personally concerned he agrees entirely with the view he expressed on the 3rd of June last with regard to a parliamentary inquiry into the Government of India Act. "But the honourable gentleman must not take that reply as in any way committing her Majesty's Government, who have as yet had no opportunity of collectively considering this very important matter." Mr. Buchanan asked Lord Randolph whether he would in some way before the end of the Session endeavour to make a statement to the House as to the reforms of the Government of India which he is prepared to carry out? To this the Indian Secretary replied that he hoped that possibly when he addressed the House on the Indian Budget he might be able to allude to the matter; "but the honourable member will see that any appointment of a Commission this Session is obviously impossible."* * *

We hardly believe that our present Secretary of State will be at all in a position to cut down the old tree, root and branch, as the influential London opinion of the hour would have it. The noble Lord will no doubt be prepared to reinforce the strength of the Council by inviting young, brilliant and straightforward politicians to join its ranks. He is no doubt influenced, and rightly so, by the conviction that the Council, as at present constituted, has not the nerve to grant to the country the solid benefits it sorely stands in need of. Charged as he is with the practical difficulties of his office, he can hardly act upon the idea that all the members of the Council are useless and mischievous body of public men. Under any constitution, though it should not be composed entirely of pensioned administrators, a moderate number of them would always form its essential component part. They form the ballast of the State-vessel. Constituted as the Council now is, it is no doubt surcharged with slow, too-conservative and ponderous elements, difficult for disintegration. It is at once a fault of the Home Government that the Council should be filled entirely by hoary-headed men who have done enormous work in India—have been satiated with it as it were, and who cannot sprightly follow the vigor of the times. Aged and weighty advisers are quite necessary, but with them should be associated men of action, brilliant energies, and progressive, essential representation.

We, therefore, notice with satisfaction the truer line of policy indicated in Lord Randolph's résolve in offering a vacant seat to the Hon'ble Mr. Melvill of Bombay. It is said that our honourable friend—true friend as he is of the natives of India—is not likely to leave the Bombay Council for the more coveted appointment in London. Such a decision would be his own, which no one of course would question. An administrator of sound ability, attainments and high character as he is, he is as great an ornament where he is as he would no doubt prove in the highest Councils of the State, should he seek to transfer himself there. Rulers of Mr. Melvill's capacity, when placed in a fit position, are rightly expected to deal more justly and actively with India than many of those whose ambitions have been fulfilled, and whose patriotic ardor has been cooled down.

Exclusive of the vacancy offered to the Hon'ble Mr. Melvill, it is reported that there are two more to be filled up caused by the expected retirement of Sir William Muir and Sir Barrow Ellis. Sir F. Halliday, Sir H. Rawlinson and Colonel Yule are also reported as proposing to retire

at no distant period. Lord Randolph will then have to cast his eyes in all directions to gather able colleagues to assist him. If a large number of Anglo-Indians resign, a few of the vacancies may be filled up by some of the Anglo-Indians who have recently retired from India. Among them we may mention the names of General Sir Richard Meade and Mr. R. S. Melvill. Both of them have had ample rest after their retirement from the Indian service, for if they at all care to devote their later-day energies to the task of doing public good to India, the public would be delighted to know that an opportunity has been offered them, and that they have accepted it. Sir Richard Meade was famous in India for distinguished military and political services, and is possessed of energy, enthusiasm and broad views of a high order. His experience of civil and military duties combined with his knowledge of statecraft and statesmanship, and his benevolent and generous impulses, have always marked him out as a solid, persevering and sympathetic administrator. He, as well as Mr. Melvill, have both been known as having discharged the most difficult and delicate political duties in India, whereas the high order of judicial and general administrative abilities, and the calmly judicious, impartial, methodical, and comprehensive spirit commanded by the latter are widely known both in Punjab and Bombay. We have no hesitation in placing Sir Richard and the other gentleman in the forefront of the retired but active-minded Anglo-Indians of the modern type.

But Lord Randolph might not be fully satisfied with replenishing the Council again with nothing further than the Anglo-Indian element, which in its own way is undoubtedly of a higher value than the purely representative element from India that we have for years advocated for being blended with the admirable practical element contained in the Council. The press, we find, is showing signs of accepting and advocating our suggestion to introduce popular native members in the Home Office. It is to be deplored that the local Councils have not yet brought up a single native executive member whom we could recommend for the higher office. We may find a few of the native legislators worthy of being sent to London. But the measure we have for years advocated to train independent members for the executive work of the Councils with full authority to criticise the financial and general administration before the annual budget is passed, is calculated to give that weight and experience to an independent and patriotic element which would be most useful in our supreme State-Office in London.

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as a legislative assemblies of India in due proportions, while it should have its own executive members and officers from the ranks of practical native philanthropists from India. We shall thus gather in England some respectable and reliable material through which to give an effective representation to the wants and grievances of the country at large. Not only a more telling representation could be secured in India itself in its various governments, but a better and final scope may be given to Independent India to [illegible] distortions and decisions in England itself, where the British Parliament is too ponderous and lofty to move for every detail of the Indian administration. According to the original measures suggested by the present writer from time to time, the actual edifice will be worked up from [illegible] but practical foundations, right up to its crown. We can have no effective voice in the Grand Old Parliament unless we strenuously worked up from small and modest beginnings, some of which we have tried to fasten on the public mind by issuing special works. The provincial and chief administrative assemblies of a practico-popular character have yet to be organized. Meanwhile, we feel no hesitation in stating that Lord Randolph has great opportunities in his hands to remodel the constitution of his great office on the lines we have here humbly ventured to indicate. If His Lordship wishes it he will not only be able to secure unique indigenous material from India, but can also lay hold of a more vigorous and modern set of Anglo-Indians now in England, as above shown, to impart a fresh and wholesome strength, of a public pattern, to that ultimate body of our governors who can make or unmake this vast country.—*9th August*, 1885.

The Secretary of State on the Indian Finances.

The new Secretary of State for India must have caused an agreeable surprise to those not fully acquainted with him, by his late masterly exposition of the financial condition of India, as far as this most difficult and most complicated task can yield to an oratorical attempt of a couple of hours. The speech which he delivered on the 6th of the last month after the House of Commons went into Committee, went out of the beaten path, and will long be remembered for its liberal and vigorous tone, and for the statesmanlike grasp with which many questions were handled. Considering the unusual ability possessed by Lord Randolph Churchill, we do not for a moment doubt that the public in general will soon learn to appreciate the cautious and sagacious spirit which his Lordship is able to show on an

emergent occasion. This being so true of him, we should have wished him to have steered clear of personal observations made against the late Viceroy of India. We do not for a moment desire that even the idol of the articulate people in India should be screened from the consequences of neglecting a policy of the first importance to India. But if we desired to consign the administration of a good ruler to obscurity, we have to be put upon our guard in observing that no more personal ill-fame is fastened upon him than the circumstances of overpowering party influences and their culmination would legitimately allow. The necessity for stimulating native loyalty has been felt imperative for many years in India; and if Lord Ripon, in the short tenure of his office, succeeded in achieving this object, the public in India will naturally desire that no personal odium may be attached to his name. Perhaps Lord Randolph, overwhelmed with his present responsibilities, could hardly take sufficient care in employing that discrimination which would have separated Lord Ripon in person, from Lord Ripon as the agent of the Liberal party which had just returned to power. Though an objection exists so far in respect of the condemnation employed by Lord Randolph against Lord Ripon, it would be a sad day for India when politicians here, or in England, are deterred from a most searching exposition of the extremely faulty system of government which certainly damages this great dependency. The speech under notice has the high merit which should be attached to a fearless exposition of the grave disabilities of certain administrative measures in India. But let us look into the speech itself somewhat more closely.

A surplus of £319,000 was estimated in the budget of 1884-85, but the revised estimate showing a revenue of £69,992,000, and an expenditure of £70,702,000, converted this surplus into a deficit of £710,000. The falling off was due to less railway receipts and the depression of trade, which has affected all other countries besides ours. It appears that the wheat and rice exports have fallen off—a fact which ought to stimulate our landlords and the general public to procure the abolition of the export duty on rice under befitting conditions. The increase in the receipts stood thus:—

	£
Opium	256,000
Excise	217,000
Irrigation	
Other sources	

The increase in the expenditures of the year was as under :—

	£
Excess cost of production and manufacture of opium ...	593,000
Political charges, especially on account of the Boundary Commission	167,000
Interest on debt, including £184,000 for discount on the £3,000,000 3 p.c. London loan of last year	242,000

But reductions were also made in the expenditures as the following items will show :—

	£
Army	126,000
Reduced Loss by exchange	285,000
Working expenses of the railways	139,000

We now come to Sir Auckland Colvin's Budget for the current year as dealt with by the Secretary of State. The revenue is estimated at £72,090,000, and the expenditure at £71,582,000, leaving an estimated surplus of £508,000. Sir Auckland has estimated the revenue higher than last year by £2,098,000, the details of increase being worked out as below :—

	£
Land Revenue	788,000
Railway Receipts...	929,000
Opium Receipts	176,000
Customs	145,000
Salt, Stamps, Excise and other receipts	304,000

The irrigation expenses being taken less by £167,000, Sir Auckland estimated the expenditure higher on the whole by £880,000 than in 1884-85, the items of excess being :—

	£
Working expenses and interest on railways	598,000
Railway Construction (excepting the amount borrowed).	169,000
Law and Justice	146,000
Education	81,000
Land Revenue Collection	98,000
Military Works	116,000
Commission for Debt Reduction	360,000
Cost of Exchange (the rupee value being taken at 1s. 7d. as against 1s. 7¼d. in the past year)	321,000
Other Heads	148,000

To counteract this increase, our able Finance Minister has placed the interest on ordinary debt less by £451,000, the opium charges by £458,000,

and the army charges by £238,000 The calculations of Sir Auckland have been, however, completely upset by the rapid advance of Russia upon Afghanistan. This grave incident compelled the Government to mobilise two army corps. The Quetta transport cost about £2,600,000, besides the vote of credit granted by England for £11,000,000. We now have the India Office itself admitting that one half of the former amount and much human hardship would have been saved had the Government not abandoned the construction of the Quetta Railway in 1880. An incredible amount of valuable time has been lost in pushing on the work of a friendly amalgamation with the Afghans, which the more distant we have thrusted the nearer it comes. The amalgamation of Afghanistan with India is inevitable; which being so it is best for India to give effect to it in times of peace rather than attempt to do it in troublesome times at a hundred times greater cost and with unspeakable national disasters to face. If Afghanistan is not India's vital outposts, it would of course be sheer insanity, and even criminal idiotcy, to construct the Sind-Pishin Railway. But this work has been undertaken by both the opposed political parties with singular unanimity. It is all right to leave the Afghans alone if we ever thought that we could do without them. But everybody by this time knows that we shall have to increase more and more our intercourse with them. The wisest policy then is to familiarise them with our interests and policy in the shortest possible time. In proportion to the wary readiness we adopt in this respect, shall we save the Indian ratepayers' money and heavy disasters to this poor country. We therefore cordially agree with Lord Randolph that the abandonment in 1880 was a disastrous blunder, the full blame of which is to be placed on the present body politic of England which pursues public measures with party purposes: a deplorable weakness from which rapacious Russia is happily free, and of which she, moreover, takes the greatest possible advantage.

The unforeseen expenditure, unprovided for in Sir Auckland's budget, amounts in all to £3,780,000 :—

	£
Forage, clothing, rations, transport	...2,600,000
Ordnance from England	... 450,000
Extra subsidy to the Amir	... 250,000
Construction of the Sind-Pishin Railway and charges for the increased rapidity of its construction ..	...1,180,000

Of this excess £700,000 was charged *to money borrowed for other purposes*! There are still further excesses in the expenditures as below :—

	£
Increased charges for opium crop	6,000,000
Discount charge of the loan in England of £3,000,000	508,000
Telegraph cable in the Persian Gulf...	75,000

The outcome of all the figures that we have here explained must be sought in what are popularly termed the "deficits" and the "surpluses." We do not believe that our Indian financiers have yet been able to give us unquestioned rules as to what constitutes a real deficit, or a real surplus. There are so many intricacies which have to be sought and disposed of before a confidential statement could be made as to any year in India actually ending in a deficit or a surplus. Lord Randolph's remark —*that a chance observer of our finances runs the risk of imagining either that the Indian "revenue was extraordinarily spasmodic and jerky, or "that Indian Finance Ministers were extremely careless and incorrect in "their calculations,"* is quite true of thousands of observers in India. It is interesting to note how Lord Randolph has gone to the bottom of the figures of the three years he has dealt with, and arrived at the conclusion, that the real total surplus of the years 1882-83, 1883-84, and 1884-85 is £1,981,000, giving an average surplus of £660,000, deducting of course unforeseen expenditures. Practical politicians will approve of the method adopted by Lord Randolph in taking the fluctuations of several years together in arriving at a right conclusion, whether a deficit or a surplus may result. He does well by acknowledging that "the practice of "Indian Finance Ministers is to estimate the revenue very cautiously," at the same time remarking that "it is not improbable that the revised "estimate of 1885-86, or at any rate the closed accounts of the coming "year, if treated as I have treated the accounts of the two previous years, "will show a real, proper adjusted surplus of £300,000 or £400,000." Our own view of the matter is that safe financial tests cannot be very well applied to such a large country as India for a shorter term than 10 years—a period sufficient to show the state of its financial equilibrium and progress. We should be much pleased to find successive Finance Ministers as much interested in the financial epochs left behind as in the one they would celebrate as peculiarly belonging to themselves. As the surpluses and deficits are to be understood from various points of view, these should

be considered together before we could understand what a real surplus or a real deficit would be like. What has been hitherto missed altogether is that form of accounts which a practical farmer or a business-like merchant would readily appreciate. Let us know the State accounts as may be found with a simple *pehedy* (firm), which may have to deal with complicated family concerns, as it may have to account for its commercial dealings to its various partners. The income and expenses of the year should be both clearly and faithfully shown. The real figures should stand naked at their genuine posts, and bear no costumes. This is one view of the State accounts we are disposed to take. Another is the statesman's view which the condition of the Indian finances demand. The character of the extraordinary expenditures require that we should every year know the extent to which the present generation bears the burden of expenditures, which are calculated to benefit the after generations. It would not be possible, nor would it be too humane, nor even politic, to apply the tailor's scissors in this respect. It is much better, however, to know what is the extent of the present dead loss as standing in relation to the prospective benefits to the country. As far as possible no more proportion of long-striding expenditures ought to be undertaken in any periodas for which there would not be some immediate return ensuing, the coming generations being left to reap the results in much the same manner. It is by following methods of this sort that we can with some ease and confidence estimate our ways and means for each year and find out plainly worked out figures of surpluses and deficits which may be truly applicable to the actual accounts of any year. Any statesman who can work out such reforms in our Financial book will confer a lasting gratitude on the ordinary masses of India, who will thus derive the priceless advantage of earning what amount of money is needed to manage their affairs and the sources whence it may be obtained. The Government will gain a great triumph themselves should the people of their own accord point out how best to tax them and how best to avoid iniquitous taxations.

We know one thing as certain that an approaching danger to this large Empire was left untold by the authorities for several years before it came on. We have in the current year to meet the enormous expenditure of about £5,000,000 unprovided for in the Budget. It would be so much better if such a contingency were realized in good time. We shall have no extra taxation—perhaps the very equitable income-tax will be reserved

for the effects of a great war, the country having for years most stupidly mismanaged this simple question. and we were the first native writer who has for years pointed out the successive bungles made in the matter. Let us now look into the reductions contemplated to meet the heavy extra disbursements of the year :

Saving in charge upon the revenue, including £700,000 borrowed capital for railway and irrigation works, £643.000 for provincial economies, those effected by the Imperial Government being £454,000	1,797,000
Railway Receipts under-estimated	500,000
In consequence of reductions of Home Drawings ...	400,000

The total of the revenue and expenditure improvement amount to £1,354,000; and if this is added to the budget estimate, as Lord Randolph points out, of £508,000, the charge not in the budget, the amount will come to £3,101,000. To meet this large sum the Government of India have increased the loan for public works to £3,500,000 stock, producing £2,990,000 in actual money and increased receipts of £767,000. The above economies and enhanced estimates would strengthen the Indian balances which must fall from £10,205,000 to £3,430,000. The balance in England at the end of March next will fall from £2,696,000 to £1,218,000. It appears that Lord Randolph is by no means reconciled with the financial portfolio handed to him by the late Viceroyalty. His Lordship says :—

" The statements I have made show an unprovided charge of £1,500,000, while the celebrated Famine Fund had practically been swallowed up. The committee will feel that this is not a very exhilirating financial statement, and that it is rather hard upon a Minister who has recently taken office to make a statement under circumstances which are certainly more or less depressing. (Hear, hear.) The statement I have made shows an unprovided charge of a million and-a-half and the Famine Insurance Fund practically swallowed up. But I am sorry to say that is not all. The whole condition of India, political and financial, has been suddenly changed, and I say the change ought not to have been allowed. It ought to have been foreseen and provided for. But it has occurred, and for that change neither the Government of Lord Dufferin in India nor the Government of Lord Salisbury at home can be held responsible for—(hear, hear)—and it is not only for the purpose of clearing the present Government of all responsibility in the matter, but also for enabling the House and the country to realize the real change which has come over India, that I will ask the Committee to take a brief glance over the finance of next year. In order that the Committee may understand what it really means in pounds, shillings, and pence, I may remind the Committee that last year a loan of £3,000,000 at 3 per cent. was issued by the Indian Government in London at a minimum charge of 94, and this year a loan for the same amount, at the same rate of interest, has been

issued at a minimum rate of 85½. I think the Committee will agree that the change of position, political and financial, which can cause a fall of Indian credit in London by some 8 or 9 per cent., is a change of great magnitude and of Imperial importance. (Hear, hear.)"

We shall wait with pleasure to hear what Lord Ripon may have to say in reference to the three points which the Secretary of State has turned against the late Government. Whatever the actual facts, India must insist on reserving sufficient money for saving the thousands and millions of our fellow-creatures who are destroyed when a famine breaks out. England supports its poor by a compulsory Law : we are not yet prepared to say that our countrymen shall not die merely for not getting a pound of rice, a pinch of salt, and a bit of chilly, in times of scarcity ! Then, again, as to the credit of India lowered in England, Lord Randolph could not have adduced a better instance to illustrate the patriotic dulness and apathy in India, which cannot yet fully realize the calamities and dangers which may be inflicted on it any day that a war happened to gather force.

It is the Government alone which have become alive to the necessity of organising the country's defences. We learn from the Secretary of State that Lord Dufferin's Government have already sent home elaborate plans for constructing fortifications and extensive railways for the protection of the North-West Frontiers of India. The estimated cost comes to about £8,000,000. The public will feel glad to have all the papers in this connection placed before them to ascertain if the defences of every accessible point, whether from the sea or the land, are provided for, or have been fully explained. We were correct in our anticipations that the first and the most important duty of the Viceroy on landing in India would be to apply himself vigorously to the various questions of the country's defences. Lord Dufferin must have intuitively felt about this great sore want of naval and military India, and the public may now well desire to know in complete details the results of the Earl's enquiries and the projects which he has sent home—we think in admirably good time, and with that readiness of ability and action of which his Lordship is known to be a consummate master.

The Secretary of State has favored the Indian public with a general but most important statement in regard to the sanction already given for the formation of reserves in the Native Army, the employment of additional regiments, the increase of the Goorkha force, the employment of torpedo and gun-boats, the armying of native regiments with the same rifles as the

The Secretary of State rightly expects the natives of India to pay impartial attention to the question if the present Government are not right in arranging for an increase in the British naval and military defences of this Empire—the details of which enhancement we have just given. It would have to be considered, first, if this increase is necessary, and, secondly, if it be necessary, the people of India could spend about two millions sterling more every year to meet the increased call. We should have been glad ourselves if the military increase had been effected by utilizing the armies of the Native States. The proposed additions, however, are only a very small fraction of the increased army which India now essentially requires, considering the strength of other powers in Europe and Asia. The increase of the naval armament will, in a short time, be found based on a minimum scale only, while the addition in the land forces is even much less than the minimum necessary. These increases are essential and very moderate, if the Government have decided on admitting into the Imperial Army about a hundred thousand men at least, belonging to the Native States. We cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that we are writing in some ignorance of the full design of the Government of India on the subject. If the permanent additions are only those indicated in Lord Randolph's speech, we must lose no time in stating that the measures contemplated are neither perfect, nor of a permanent character, such as may prove serviceable to the extent so highly desirable on a sudden emergency. It will not do for the military administration of this large empire to live from hand to mouth. It will not do for this great country to trust on what the political parties at home might be able to do for its safety on any dire occasion. India must demand that it will not henceforth rest on the mercies which may be spared after the whims of the English multitudes have been satisfied, or the exigencies of their own country and other colonies have been met. We could not have got a more admirable Secretary of State than Lord Randolph, but we must beg leave to ask even if Lord Randolph could overthrow his party and their constituencies, should India's interests be so far imperilled that they needed no less than an extra hundred and fifty thousand men and a very powerful naval force to keep the country inviolate, while all these additional resources were suddenly demanded from Great Britain. We have, therefore, to repeat our contention—as we always have maintained—that India should be made perfectly independent

of all foreign help, excepting so far that the imperial duty imposable on our mother country should be fully utilized. The effect of the present Government plan would involve the country in an extra expenditure of two crores of rupees per annum. We cannot for one moment doubt the necessity for this additional expenditure, which was foreseen by the present writer fifteen years past. Its full results which the country should reap would, however, much depend on the auxiliary movements to be adopted in bringing up the total efficiency of the army by incorporating with it the available forces of the Native States.

The Secretary of State would not add to the public debt in order to provide for further army charges. For, he says, "that is a way against which there is a strong feeling." But the two crores are needed for the safety of the future as much as for the present generations. If no formidable objection existed, and if we were resolutely determined not to impose fresh taxation while economies did not produce sufficient results, there cannot be a more expedient course to take than to obtain the money by loan. Lord Randolph rightly says that the famine funds cannot even be partly capitalised. His Lordship would not think of reimposing an income tax, though he would extend the license tax. If the license tax is to be made perfect, the income tax could not be neglected. These two taxes are mere twin sisters, and we greatly deplore that the Government are not yet in a position to impose this direct taxation in a sufficient, moderate, and friendly form. It is a disgrace to many classes in India, and it speaks of the great weakness of Government that many lacs of subjects of small and large means now impudently escape to bear their due share in the expenses of the country. The patriots of India have to reflect on this unpleasant fact, that they having failed in impressing on the public that the income tax is the most natural tax which could be applied to them, the Government are seeking out-of-the-way methods to reduce the expenditures of the country. When one wrong is left unremedied, two wrongs are committed. We strongly urge on the leaders of the country to popularize this tax, as also to draw the attention of the Government to a series of direct taxation which can be levied on successions, ·ptions, births, marriages and large feasts. All these taxes could be sily levied, and the people will willingly pay them. We would request the Government and the public associations to issue brief programmes explaining the financial position of the country, the additional resources

urgently required, and the measures of taxation which may be justly conceived; and in this manner, calling upon competent persons to submit prize-papers, suggesting and explaining the modes by which the additional expenditures may be recouped. By inviting and keeping up public discussions in this manner, the minds of all classes will be cleared up in respect of these difficult, and at present very ill-understood questions, while the public in general will be prepared to know that the Government were not gratuitously adopting any fiscal measures against them.

"Indirect taxation in the way of customs has been almost entirely swept away." And Lord Randolph would, of course, not be in a position to think of it, as everything as to the predominance of his party is so uncertain. The leaders of India should rightly understand this state of things. As long as they neglect our suggestion for starting a patriotic and vigorous daily organ in London, the sore about the home charges and the abolition of duties on goods imported into India will never be sufficiently remedied. Every party in turn has to yield to the pressure of its own constituencies; and the Indian Cow is the poor beast which has to suffer. Where is that band of true and great men—honest and fearless publicists, who will shed the *Light of the East* on the selfish and frigid minds of cold Englanders, whose hearts have yet to be warmed with the aid of the *Eastern Sun*, shedding its rays on them fearlessly and constantly? Where are they? we ask again and again.

Lord Randolph urges reductions in the expenditure of £3,600,000 on civil buildings, and we believe the Government of India are already on the track. We cordially agree with his Lordship that unless everything possible has been gained by economy, the people should not be newly taxed. Had the Indian Government a more stable and a more independent system of government, his Lordship may feel assured that all essential extra expenditures would be agreeably met from new taxes: direct and indirect. We would respectfully leave the two Lords, our affectionate and worthy rulers, to think of the abnormal state of things which has, on the one hand, made our Government timid, and, on the other, set the Indian communities to the mercies of every adverse wind. We would call the attention of the patriots to the following passage from Lord Randolph's speech, which does great credit to both his ability and integrity, and leave them to judge anew of the expediency of establish[illegible] permanent journal in England to disinfect the public mind in [illegible]

for which the electors generally don't care a fig so long as they could exercise potentiality in their home affairs :—

"There is nothing whatever alarming in the financial condition of India : it was a condition of anxiety and difficulty, but not of alarm. My first reason for placing all this before the committee was to fix the responsibility for the present state of things on the right parties, and in the second place to interest public opinion and bring home to the mind of the electors the real nature of the new cares and anxieties which must press upon the Indian Viceroy. (Hear hear.) The greatest and perhaps the most unpardonable crime which a Governor-General of India can be guilty of was that he should not look ahead and make provision for the future. The Government of England could not, from its very nature, look far ahead. Its policy was always a policy rather of from month to month, from week to week, and sometimes from day to day; it was always more or less a policy of from hand to mouth. The reason of this is that the Government of England depends on a parliamentary majority which was violently assailed and swayed by an enlightened, but often capricious, public opinion. (Cheers and laughter.) The Government of England has in the formation of its policy to think of the state of Europe, of the colonies, of Ireland, of the state of parties in England, and last, but not least, the state of business in the House of Commons; and all these questions had to take their turn, and more or less, their chance. We possess in this country great freedom and invaluable constitutional privileges, but we purchased that freedom at the price of little stability and continuity in our Government, and at the price of hardly any forethought in our policy. Of course, these remarks were intended to be perfectly general, and if there was an exception to be made, it was that of Her Majesty's present Government. (Laughter.)"

We fear the disability of which the Secretary of State complains, as betrayed by the late Government, must be more or less common with every Governor-General. Not unless India acquires great weight in the State counsels, that the grave incidents resulting from the conflicting party-tempests in England could be largely avoided. That Lord Randolph should have been so unflinching in pointing out the party weakness, which constantly results in injustice, is a great service done to this country. Whatever the severity with which he has handled the late Viceroy, we should not forget the very great and magnanimous justice that he has done to this country—almost unequalled in the party annals of England of the last few years.

Lord Randolph has stated with great force and clearness the points on which he has animadverted upon the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. It is undoubted that he has felt strongly on these points, and though we can agree with his Lordship, as far as his disapproval of the late Cabinet action goes in respect of the measures abandoned which had been conceived in the interests of the Indian frontiers, we cannot bring on Lord Ripon as a scape-goat of the whole affair. As long as India is governed by accidental extraneous

partisans, and as long as native India is not powerful enough to have policy to themselves, so long will Indian Viceroys remain more or less weakened statesmen. The reins of the Viceregal car are held in England. Each party does its best to do some good to India, but without reference to far-reaching ends. The Liberal Government were sincere in their desire to stimulate the loyalty of a great nation. But if that nation were still a lot of children in the field of modern politics, we should not be surprised that the measures adopted for inspiring them with loyalty would only be imperfect measures. The burden of Lord Randolph's complaint against the late Government, which was not recognized in the midst of considerable agitation, is that no measures for protecting the frontiers were adopted. The measures which had been undertaken were abandoned. No financial foresight was employed, though the Government knew well that the events in Europe had forced Russia to rapidly advance upon Afghanistan. The army was reduced, the revenues were lowered; and the essential measures of expenditures were discarded—the results being that Russia effected a rapid approach towards India; and the Government were compelled to undertake again the very measures which had been abandoned at a much greater cost and risk than would have been the case had the vigilance been continued from the days of the first warning. From the moment Lord Ripon placed his foot on the Indian soil, we renewed our efforts to get the British hold on Afghanistan properly secured. Had this been done, the country would have no doubt been saved much unnecessary expenditure and the anxieties we have recently undergone. We still believe that we are committing a great blunder in not throwing ourselves heart and soul into all those careful devices which we have pointed out for the civilization and final consolidation of Afghanistan. We cannot blame Lord Ripon personally for the neglect of the frontier roads and railways, and our failure in becoming the close, magnanimous and trusted friends of the Afghans; while the great Parties which sway our statesmen are simply moving like a pendulum from one extreme to another, and the medium point is altogether ignored. The higher quality has been really wanting in our statesmanship—that of winning from the Afghans all which we should have some day to win by various hasty and violent measures applied without reference to the untamed feelings and prejudices, from which we have been, to a certain extent, very unreasonably and very ignorantly running off. We so highly

trust in Lord Randolph's sense of prudence and justice, that his Lordship will undoubtedly excuse us for stating that if we may join him in blaming Lord Ripon in this instance, we have to blame much more the political constitution of England, and the absence of a powerful public opinion in India, which his Lordship has pointedly indicated to the people of England. When circumstances render the exercise of a higher statecraft and humanity difficult, great statesmen will naturally follow the minor instincts of humane action. Both the Indian people and the governing parties of Great Britain should strive to raise the ideal of the Indian Government, when distinct failures of Governors and Viceroys could be justly reprobated in a personal sense. His Lordship has no doubt the highest ideal in view, and if we were to follow it up, the legitimate conclusion would be that no great statesman should retain his post unless he could discharge his high functions as based on ultimate principles of the highest order.—*6th and 13th September*, 1885.

Lord Ripon's Defence.

THERE is one great advantage attached to the government of England conducted by conflicting parties, which the despotic governments in Europe have not: we may be certain to learn of the weaknesses of any government which may rule England for the time being. We may of course only learn of the divergencies so far as the opposed parties may choose to remain divorced from each other. The differences between them at least come out clear, and broadways are laid out for recurring correction of public affairs.

Lord Randolph Churchill, as we have already seen, was not sparing in his criticisms on Lord Ripon's administration of India. We have shown in our past papers how far we could not agree with Lord Randolph in the view he has taken of the late Indian administration. Probably, it is owing to his severe handling of the question which has led Lord Ripon to make a very interesting speech on Indian affairs in a public meeting of the Bolton Liberal Association held on August 24 in the "Temperance Hall" of that town.

Lord Ripon called into account the financial, military, and diplomatic portions of his administration of India. In referring to the fact of the 60,000 British Indian invaders, found in offensive charge of Afghanistan

when Lord Ripon first arrived at Calcutta, he said that since no recruits could be had, and on account of other difficulties, his predecessor had himself peremptorily ordered the troops to return from Cabul and Eastern Afghanistan. The enormous expenditure of 15 millions sterling had been incurred—all useful works had been suspended, and the "most exaggerated alarms with respect to the financial and military positions prevailed." Lord Ripon says that he fully shared the feeling expressed in the general Election of 1880, that the war in Afghanistan should be brought to a close "as speedily as was consistent with safety and with *honor*." *The ruler who took the place of* Shere Ali was "a man of straw with no influence in the country." Lord Ripon further said that he continued the negotiations with the present Amir, which were started by *Lord Lytton, and concluded them by placing him in possession of the* whole of Afghanistan. His Lordship established very cordial relations with him, which have been fully maintained ever since. Lord Ripon was one with the English Ministry on the question of evacuating Candahar, for if this had not been done, Afghanistan, according to the noble speaker, would have been disunited and fallen a prey to intrigues in the hands of Russia, now that she has come so close upon us. The late Viceroy admits, however, that he opposed the English Government by retaining Quettah and the Pishin valley, for which Amir Abdur Rahaman or his people did not care, especially as the Amir thought that by permitting the retention of Pishin, the assistance of the British will be within reach and be as *effective as if they had retained Candahar itself. Lord Ripon* was also opposed to the abandonment of the railway to Quettah. It would now seem that a Liberal English statesman, who would have entirely followed the lead of the Electors in 1880, modified his convictions after a study on the spot: we were not therefore wrong in respectfully calling upon Lord Ripon, when he arrived at Calcutta, to oppose the evacuation of Candahar. Lord Ripon was only able to modify the Liberal policy in part, and the Liberal Government have admitted through the Right Hon'ble Mr. Cross, that Lord Ripon was not wrong in insisting upon the railway being built up to the passes, and the retention of the Pishin valley. If the British Government were able to retain Pishin without *encountering the hatred of the Afghans, it naturally follows that* the retention up to Candahar would have made but little difference. The ruler elected was new and the grateful creature of the British, and it is

deplorable to observe that an admirable and an early opportunity was lost for achieving the vital object of familiarizing the Afghans with British presence and politics. If the Russians could intrigue against the British in consequence of Candahar being vested in a chief, independent of the Amir—as urges our late worthy Viceroy—it was as easy for them to intrigue against us while we were at Quettah. The difficulty in the way of Lord Ripon was the powerful liberal conviction that the war in Afghanistan was most uncalled for, and that the new coming Government should do nothing less than completely give up the whole Afghan business! Lord Ripon did real service to India by insisting that Afghanistan should not be left a prey to anarchy, and a powerful government should be given to it. If he could not do anything more, he was simply overwhelmed with the element which had just then succeeded to power under certain conditions which have proved so prejudicial to India. In the first place a most expensive war was undertaken, and then its effects were sought to be effaced by a complete abandonment of the country! Even supposing that the war was proclaimed by a mishap, it was done so under some excusable motive: that of securing the safety of India. Had this motive been fully acted upon—and that would have been by a friendly occupation of Candahar and the gradual construction of a railway up to that town—we should have found the grievous expenditure first incurred somewhat tolerable: we should, moreover, have found that expenditure not recurring with a terrible reaction—for the first motive of that expenditure was, specifically, and in a remarkable degree, ignored. We have neither been for the Conservatives, or the Liberals—as these distinguished parties are understood to be on the Continent—and are, therefore, free to state this lamentable truth with the one object of praying the Almighty that He may save our country from being made the football of political parties in England. It is not difficult to describe the gratification which every true patriot would have felt had the Railway works been continued—which would have saved millions of our money squandered in hurried and impossible transports, &c., in the absence of the railway now once more undertaken. Our affairs do seem to have been affected with some nfirmity: what fiendish delight it must have caused Russia when at each ove of her little finger she could plunge India into such hopeless disorders and ruinous waste of its hard-earned money by millions! But for this glar'ng weakness we should not have permitted even our present patriotic and

invaluable friend, the Secretary of State, to utter a word of censure on Lord Ripon's administration, which did its best under certain overbearing disabilities affecting the state of things in England.

Lord Ripon alluded to the criticism of the Secretary of State, in which he censured the Viceroy for squandering the resources of India and not utilizing them in giving a timely effect to the frontier policy. Lord Ripon, in defending the reductions he made in the duty on salt, and the abolition of the custom duties, stated that he could not be blamed for completing the policy started by Lord Lytton, whose conduct the Secretary of State had defended on the same occasion. The salt tax is a more grievous tax, when excessive, than a tax on justice. Salt should be made as cheap as justice should also be, while if the finances were *most* prosperous, and all the urgent needs of the country supplied, we should not mind if both salt and justice were entirely set free from meeting the pecuniary obligations of the State. Lord Ripon was in a certain sense right in holding that every possible reduction should be made in salt tax with a view to secure financial reserves for unforeseen contingencies. It is true that Great Britain, by levying a moderate income-tax in ordinary times, is quite prepared with popular consent to raise the scale of that tax as easily as steam can be raised in a fire engine, when pressing financial exigencies have to be answered. Lord Ripon thinks it impossible that financial reserves could be secured by the imposition of an income-tax in India, *which we think could be conveniently raised* when an unusual call was made on the Treasury. If we were asked which tax should we prefer —the tax on incomes or salt—we should humbly prefer the former. We should prefer both to impose and raise the former than the latter. The timidity and the wavering policy of our past Indian rulers, and the want of integrity among certain classes of the Indian subjects, have gathered *certain difficulties about a most legitimate taxation, which* will *need* unusual ability and courage in a Viceroy to face, with a view to give effect to an essential public policy. Let the Viceroy do all the enthusiastic good he can, and then stake his appointment in the interests of raising public funds for the benefit of India from the incomes and profits which now so scandalously evade the most ordinary tax, while the most vital substances *for the sustention of life are freely taxed.* We *should highly* desire that the distinguished Statesman who now rules over us, may in good time point out to the influential communities in India their scandalous evasion

of the tax which they ought to cheerfully contribute to meet the expenses of the country. The abolition of duties on cotton goods imported has been effected by the cordial agreement of the Liberals and the Conservatives, who having secured a free trade for England would do the same with respect to India. Lord Ripon was fired by the enthusiasm which has gained an imperishable fame for Cobden and Bright. With the utmost deference we may be permitted to state that any elevated policy which a free and most prosperous country may have deserved, India might need many years still to deserve in the same spirit. If millions die by starvation; if railways and irrigations are sparse; if national industries are poor and unplentiful; if an unscrupulous and relentless foe could any time cause alarm and waste of our money resources like water; if we are still tied to the dumb animal's yoke in regard to unconstitutional expenditures; these, let us submit, are not the circumstances and the times which could permit us to accept that bright gold leaf which Lord Ripon has torn from the history of Great Britain and handed to us. The import duties, or direct taxation, or even a tax on salt itself, are much less evils than a foe's unscrupulous threat to the empire, or its constant subjection to ruinous panic-expenditures, or millions of famine and epidemical deaths. We should have praised Lord Ripon's efforts more than we have been doing if the reductions in the taxing powers of the country had been effected at the same time that the frontier policy was patiently and perseveringly carried out, and the country not put to straits by suspension of essential expenditures. Considering the general weakness and impoverishment of India and the entire absence of popular readiness in pointing out the extra resources which a serious occasion may demand, we should firmly resist the temptation to lose hold of a single penny obtained from the country. We would court every transient unpopularity, but not permit any weakening of the financial vigor of the country, for time would uphold much better the latter than the former policy.

Lord Ripon further vindicated the righteousness of the expenditure of £1,200,000 incurred in excess of that previously spent on civil buildings and roads. Lord Lytton withdrew £760,000 from the provincial resources to meet the general purposes of the Afghan war. He therefore caused the suspension of certain expenditures for three years in the decentralized provinces. This suspension ended in the accumulation of unexpected balances to the amount of £3,700,000. When the war was

over and the normal state of the expenditure restored, Lord Ripon decided to refund the amount withdrawn by Lord Lytton, and after carefully considering the balance which should be maintained by all the local governments—which was fixed at a total of £1,000,000—the late Viceroy permitted the subordinate governments to spend £2,000,000 which remained on their hands above the balance which was considered desirable to hold in reserve. His Lordship takes credit for having spent the accumulated reserves on public works of great importance both for the continuous progress of the administration and providing against future famines. There was legislation in force by which the Supreme Government was bound by law to let the provincial governments utilize certain portions of revenue in allotted services. To have spent the accumulated reserve on frontier railways and defences was to have altogether disregarded this legislation, the basis for which were laid from the time of Lord Mayo. However much we may sympathize with the difficult position in which Lord Ripon was placed, we cannot conceal the fact that the course adopted in the Indian administration was one for which the public associations in India are even more to blame than the Liberal party whom Lord Ripon could not entirely ignore. The finances of the country are not constitutionally managed, and they are often the object of serving the ends of party governments in England. If we had reserves for famines and for continuous prosecution of public works, we should also have found resources to build up the inviolability of the empire. We should like to know how far did the extra expenditure go in meeting the ends of famine works. We must hold the prescience of our patriots considerably at fault if they did not perceive beforehand the panic-expenditure lately incurred, which would have been unnecessary had the frontier roads and railways been vigorously prosecuted soon after the Afghan War. At any rate we should not have a mistake of this sort repeated in future, while millions from taxation would also be given up! We must take care to see that this country is sacrificed as little as possible at the altar of the Party War-cries. The permanent interests of the empire are served less when liberal measures which cannot stand the test of a few years are showered upon the people of India. In the present instance we have gained considerably by the stimulation which Lord Ripon's conduct in India has given to native loyalty and to the friendliness of Afghanistan, which His Lordship so fully secured, though

we should have wished he had become a more active and a more useful friend of Afghanistan than was implied in the dark carte blanche given to Abdur Rahaman.

Let us hear from the Marquis of Ripon himself what the Noble Lord thought about the various reductions which were effected during his Viceroyalty :—

"Before you permanently reduce profitable expenditure, I say you ought to go through your whole expenditure in all its branches. Reduce those parts of your military expenditure which do not concern the power of your army; look to your salaries, see whether you cannot, by diminishing the numbers of the covenanted services, and increasing the number of your uncovenanted services by employing more natives, especially in the judicial branch, see if you cannot bring about a reduction of expenditure before you turn and cut down your expenditure on public works. (Cheers.) So anxious were we not to diminish the military efficiency for the sake of economy, that while Lord Lytton's Military Commission had recommended reductions, which they said would produce a saving of at least a million pounds, we did not venture to go much beyond half that sum. I am sorry to say the fate of our proposals was not altogether such as I could wish. They went home to the India Office—my hon. friend Mr. Cross will not listen to what I am going to say now—and most part of them did not obtain approval there. I am not going to enter into that controversy now. The facts have been published, and the question is before the public, if they will only take the trouble to look into it. But I must express my opinion in present circumstances with respect to one of those proposals which has not yet been carried out. I believe it to be the first of all military reforms for India that there should be unity of military command and administration. I would not myself be responsible in any way for the conduct of a great war under the present military organization of India. It has been said in the newspapers that Lord R. Churchill is inclined to adopt our recommendations in this respect. If that is so, he may rely upon receiving most cordial support from me. (Cheers.) Our proposals did not involve the reduction of a single fighting man from the strength of the army, and they were made under the recommendations of Lord Lytton's Commission. We are told that I allowed the British army in India to fall 10,000 men below its proper strength. When the Secretary of State made that statement, he ought to have known—whether he did or not I do not know—he ought to have known that neither I nor my colleagues had anything whatever to do with the reduction in the strength of the British Army; that we had no control over the matter, and the matter was explained by my noble friend Lord Hartington in the clearest terms. He said the difficulty was caused by the changes which took place in the administration of the army at home and by a miscalculation made as to the establishment necessary to provide relief for the army in India. The evil has been overcome, and if I am not mistaken, the army at the present moment has been restored to its full strength. But we had nothing whatever to do with the matter, and had no responsibility with regard to it."

We have not of course a complete programme from the late Viceroy of the reductions which the expenditures of the country require in various

directions, the most important of which have been omitted from Lord Ripon's calculations. His Lordship was not altogether heedless in respect of the dangers which a reduction in the military strength of the country might cause; and to a certain extent his Lordship's government in India was not responsible for the military reductions. We have not before us a full knowledge of these reductions, but they have been latterly made up. We would solicit the Ministry in England to bear in mind the declaration made by the late Viceroy that were the responsibility of conducting a war thrown on him, he would by no means undertake it with the present defective military organization of the Empire. We should have liked to hear more from Lord Ripon on this most important point. We should not be surprised to find a Viceroy throwing up his appointment if the defences of India were in an unsatisfactory condition, and his mature and unavoidable proposals rejected. Indeed, unless a conscientious Viceroy commanded courage of this sort, the country may some day be thrown into dangers of the very first magnitude. It is pleasing to note that Lord Ripon gives credit to his predecessors for introducing such measures as his Lordship has himself thought essential to follow up, and these are not unimportant which he credits to the name of Lord Lytton. For instance, the important railways to Peshawar and the frontier roads and railways connecting Quettah with the boundaries of India were commenced during the *régime* of Lord Lytton and continued by Lord Ripon, though not on an expeditious scale by the latter owing to obstructions from Home. In closing here the question of Lord Ripon's reply to Lord Churchill, all that remains to be stated is that the former discharged his high functions without disregarding entirely the instructions which he received from superior authorities, and while trying his best to do substantial good to India, he could not do much in the way of effecting a permanent improvement either in the financial constitution or the permanent security of the Empire. It must be remembered that he could not possibly have turned disloyal to the great party which sent him out, while public opinion in India was contemptibly feeble in producing any better effect on the course of his four years' administration. He may therefore be judged kindly and leniently; and to the snares which lay in his way we may respectfully direct the attention of those aspiring after a superior and a more abiding credit than any hitherto earned by the flitting viceregal autocrats of India.—*20th September*, 1885.

It is unfortunate that the majority of our native contemporaries have advanced the strongest representations dissuading Lord Dufferin from passing the Income Tax Bill. The spirit of the public protest which is infinitely stronger than the public approval is dead against the tax in its abstract, as well as practical, form. We shall review the proposition of the Government of India on the strength of the light of the present day. While doing so we would beg leave to quote one or two of our past utterances. In a work entitled "The British Policy respecting Famines in India," published twelve years ago, we referred to the question of the Income Tax in the following terms:—

Lord Dufferin's Bold Policy.

* * * "And yet I would approve of a firm and fearless reimposition of an Income Tax, excepting all very ordinary incomes, (the reimposition to be allowable when we were pretty sure that a more honest and careful way of spending our money was to be followed), whereby the Indian Government could obtain millions from the propertied, wealthy, and official classes who have so discreditably tried to *shirk* contributing to the general expenses, while every possible penny has been exacted from millions of half-starving ryots. It is a lamentable weakness of Government to seek an inequitable conciliation of the former classes when they should be taught to lighten the difficulties of Government. It is incomprehensible how, beyond two or three untouched resources, the present alarming fiscal poverty could be helped, except by some extraordinary energy shown by Government in discovering and appropriating the numerous valuable mines which abound in India."

One of our latest opinions on the question was expressed in our issue of 11th January, 1885, when Lord Ripon left India, and no one perhaps anticipated that his successor would reimpose the Income Tax before another year was out. This is what we then said in reviewing Lord Ripon's parting speech:—

* * * "But His Lordship says that Sir John Strachey's financial administration was unjustly assailed. The verdict of the public—right or wrong—has not quite endorsed this. As we read this magnanimous vindication, we only suspect something so unaccountable in the machinery of the Government of India. Even a Viceroy must occasionally indulge in a paradox. It is a lesson to *us*. Lord Ripon has left us an efficient Famine Code, the value of which will be tested when a Famine occurs. Such a Code may prove invaluable. The country wants the more energetic Public Works policy, and this has been vouchsafed to us. But will any Viceroy have the courage to tell the influential classes of India what sin they commit in resenting the Income Tax, while the salt of the poor is still taxed, and there is an immoderate burden on the free dispensation of justice? Oh the dreaded spectre of unpopularity which await the statesman who dare put his hand in the purse of the proud! Perhaps the Ilbert Bill anger will be nothing in comparison to the storm that a full Income Tax might raise. But by and bye we may perhaps show a quiet way how to deal with this political monster, which every Viceroy coming out to India would rather let alone!"

Whatever the result be of a rigid examination of the policy brought *forward by the Viceroy and his financial advisers, this much' is apparent* that what has appeared to them as an indispensable measure in the interests of the Empire, they have stood out with it at all risks of unpopularity and public derision. They have explained that India has urgently needed a modern state of defence, and that unless the people paid for it by direct taxation their permanent security could not be guaranteed. And thus the Viceroy in Council have taken the straight road to reach the purse of those who are the only communities who escape all special taxation, though they are enjoying the utmost benefits from the British rule.

Whatever be our ultimate judgment as to the circumstances attending the introduction of the measure and its practical details as they may tell *on various classes, we cannot conceal our satisfaction that the Viceroy* has promptly and honestly endeavoured to remove one of the foulest blots which hitherto rested on Indian society,—that its most influential classes have been contriving to evade being taxed proportionate to their income, while the most indispensable article for the poor is taxed, and the meanest ryot is paying his due to the Government. When the Viceroy set his foot on the Indian shores, we brought this scandal to His Excellncy's notice in emphatic terms, as also the dreadful fact of India's most ordinary defences being neglected *in the most marked manner. It is exceedingly gratifying* to us that, in both these directions, the present Government have taken the fullest and the most elaborate measures which have been possible for them to take; though in respect of the armies of the Native States, the noble Earl has not yet had time to assert the full impartiality due to that imperial measure of self-defence with which he is the first Viceroy who has earnestly and faithfully identified himself. We do not for a moment wish to underrate the vigor, firmness and forethought employed in adopting the various measures of defence against the encroachments of the Russians especially, but we must maintain —as we have ever done—that the fullest measures, which the Government of India can singly enforce, must still considerably *fall short of the full degree of strength needed by India, and which can* only be secured by a thorough reform and reorganization of the forces of the native feudatories, which, as they now exist, are a disgrace to this enlightened age, and are, further, the shameless spoliators of the poor ryots' money without one redeeming feature to bespeak of a promising prosperity for the rulers or the ruled. We have felt such a re t

in poring upon the masterly oration of the Viceroy, dwelling upon th imperative necessity of placing India on the same military footing as its rival powers, that the absence of all allusions to the ready resources the Native States, in regard to their hundreds of thousands of fighting me become very marked. If it was not deemed possible to propose a rapi utilization of these forces, we should have been satisfied by being informe of the full intentions of the Government on the subject. The firm step take by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy against the pretensions of Russi has rendered an era of peace possible for some time. And this is just the tim when the foundations for reformed corps in behalf of Native States shoul be laid with all the earnestness and elaborateness which the urgency of th measure so apparently demands. If the half measures of extreme utility s commendably undertaken are so trying to the public, owing to the fresl burdens necessarily imposed on them, we should be greatly aggrieved if n rational and straightforward plan is adopted to befriend the Native State in effecting the loudly demanded reforms of their native armies, on which half the safety of India must inevitably depend on any critical occasion.—*24th January*, 1886.

Revival of the Income Tax.

In judging upon the conduct of the Government of India in reviving the Income Tax, we have to consider, first, if there is any necessity for further taxation, and, if so, whether there is a more agreeable or a juster process of taxation than the one now being adopted. These two issues cover the whole area of discussion now before the public.

It may be remembered that one of our strongest contentions in reference to the progress of the Empire is, that its ways and means should be established first, before old revenues are remitted, or new ones imposed, while the fiananccs of the country should be closely discussed by public bodies and in State Councils constituted on a reformed basis. It was generally a good thing that remissions of various taxes were made by the predecessors of Lord Dufferin, but it now appears from experience, that it would have been a much better thing if the consideration of such financial measures had been based on the a, b, c, of the constitution of an Empire which is not on a stand-still, is not stagnant, does not exist in abstract vapours, is continuously progressing, continually mending its progressive constitution, and is constantly subject to financial straits and difficulties.

India is therefore not a field fit for the extreme theories of humanitarians, or for those of exacting despots. A land on which there blows chilling blasts one day, and which is subject to scorching heat the next, is not the sort of region where much of humanity could exist and flourish. Our good rulers may know with advantage that India is a country which would proclaim itself an Elysium as soon as an affectionate Lord sets it free from all taxation; but that it is also a country which may become a Pandemonium as soon as a bold *Viceroy thinks that the people ought to pay more for its literal* safety and protection. The pleasing public opinions expressed when the salt tax was reduced by Lord Ripon and the vehement protests with which the land is now filled, all serve to show our forecasts and our urgings of years to have been correct. The public bodies have not yet attempted any full exposition of the financial condition of the country, which should be attempted several times in a year; whereas the constitution of the Government of India is no unbroken guarantee that the administrative and financial difficulties would be considered and solved on a fundamental, intelligible and consistent basis. That no such guarantee exists is apparent from the fact of taxes remitted one year, and increased or re-imposed perhaps in the next. We are by no means blind to the difficulties which beset the path of successive Viceroys; but our regret is that no measures have been adopted to put a stop to this very untoward state of affairs which constantly require mending, while the mending that is possible is scarcely of a permanent character. The reduction of salt duty, the abolition of the import duties, and the remission of the Patwari cess, were effected a few years ago, all amounting to about 2½ millions. Sir Auckland Colvin now shows a large deficit which *has to be met in this and the succeeding year. To rely upon*, a small surplus, and then remit taxes, is a measure which would not do for India. We have urged for years that a surplus *proportionate* to the *capacity of the country* should be secured each year, besides a large permanent reserve of cash to meet unexpected contingencies. If the Government had been able to secure this, we should not have gravely doubted to-day the expediency of the total abolition of the import dues on Manchester goods and have been at our wits' end to meet so small a deficit as one crore. It is deplorable that we cannot make so important a reduction as that on the salt tax, without also anticipating to raise it once more! The finances should be made so stable that the tax on salt

ought to be the lightest, and its *abolition* should always remain on the financial board, and not its *enhancement*. We trust Sir Auckland Colvin will accept the fairness of our argument as he, in his able, lucid and remarkably fair exposition in the Council, foresees the probability of again raising the salt tax! He might have on better grounds foreseen the re-imposition of moderate import duties. It is a commendable frankness on the part of the Finance Minister to admit that, though the revenues were reduced in 1882 by three millions, neither the heavy payments on account of the arrears of the non-effective military charges, nor the deficiency experienced in the opium crops, nor the recent war charges presented any difficulties that have not been overcome. They have not only been overcome, but the surplus of revenue over expenditure has averaged for the last three years not less than £700,000. Even if Sir Auckland's last estimate is fully verified, we may be excused for not going in for so much of the hon'ble gentleman's optimism. His surpluses in our view are yawning deficits but for which Sir Auckland would not have been able to show his masterly skill and profound wisdom in devising every means at his command to erase the deficits from his portfolio. That we are every year deluded with the vision of surpluses, while we are only actually treading on the brink of disastrous deficits, is not our opinion of to-day; it's an opinion formed when our present young native politicians were hardly able even to know the real character of a surplus or of a deficit for this vast empire. And we still find our easy-going native writers generally acquiescing in what they are told as a surplus or a deficit. A real surplus, or a real deficit, is a far more tangible and serious article to statesmen than the abolition of taxes, the practical effects of which on the people are non-existent; it could neither add to our cold-comforting "surplus," nor furnish the awful gap as soon as a long-threatened and gradually fostered deficit commences its formidable attacks upon a Finance Minister. We hope to have shown clearly why we cannot agree with Sir Auckland that, in decreeing the final abolition of the import duties long long before the history of India could ordain it, his successor only acted like Appolos who was constrained to water what Paul had sowed. A theoretic perfection is to a practical difficulty, what muddy water to a thirsty in the forest is to a silvery stream that he espies rippling down a glorious hill, which basks in the sunshine a ten miles off as his stomach is twisted for want of water.

The Finance Minister has explained the improvements expected in the estimated revenues, as the exports and receipts from opium, customs and railways have improved much beyond the expectations formed in the estimated budget; while an improved method of calculating the military non-effective charges would result in the saving of £363,250. Under these circumstances, Sir Auckland has been able to provide about a crore and eighty lakhs of the additional expenditure from the anticipated improved sources of revenue, leaving the balance of £700,000 to be provided from fresh taxation.

It may be noticed with great satisfaction that the estimates of the Finance Minister for the budgetted revenues were so far underrated that the actual results are likely to give the public very great relief. The Government of India have, however, made no provision for the expenditure now being incurred on account of the Burmese war, for Sir Auckland states he has no idea what it may come to, and that he has not provided for it in the current budget. It is very likely that that country will have to meet these war charges; and it should be so as far as its protection is concerned.

The Government seem to have been doing their best to meet the increased expenditure by enforcing economy. But we quite believe them when they say they could hardly do this in any satisfactory degree at the spur of the moment. We never thought that when a contingency arose, much could be done in the way of reducing expenditures. When the Government, in ordinary times, are satisfied with small surpluses, and give up convenient sources of revenues, we should not be surprised to find them, not very long after, landed in a dilemma. They must either then economize with vengeance, or increase their debt. In fairness they would be forced to adopt both remedies. Hardship would enable the Government to find out every possible economy; but the dread of future mischiefs and undoing the good effects of the money already spent must force them also to resort to the second remedy. That borrowing in such cases can altogether and quite safely be avoided, as Sir Auckland would have it, is not wholly practicable. The Finance Minister is, however, very strong on this point:—

"I do not, in saying this, wish to be understood as in the slightest degree endorsing the view as to the folly of making reductions which has been lately urged on this Government from more than one quarter; for I cannot for the life of me bring myself to see that the best way out of pecuniary obligations which you are not likely to be able to meet is by adding to them. I wish

with all my heart it were, for it would simplify my task exceedingly. Thus, we have been told that, if economy is a good dog, borrowing is a better. A passed master in the art of meeting pecuniary obligations, whose authority, as we know, is unimpeachable, was obliged at last to confess that he could get "no remedy against this consumption of the purse; borrowing only lingers and lingers it out, but the disease is incurable." In public as in private life, in short, the approach of money difficulties is the signal for retrenchment; and if we do not, at the present moment, look to economies to fill the void which threatens us in the coming year, it is not because we agree with those who think economies a pestilent source of extravagance, or because we do not ardently desire them, but because they are not in any decisive degree immediately attainable."

We would not lose sight of the fact that a Finance Minister, however powerful, must be influenced by antecedent circumstances; but he may deal with the difficulties in prospect. Emergent expenditures could not be avoided, and it is in making provision for them that the higher and adequate surpluses and the restoration of legitimate revenues have to be aimed at and pledged to the moneys borrowed. In that way, taking economy to be a good dog, borrowing, perhaps, becomes a better one! Though the re-adjustment of the partition of revenues between the Supreme and Local Governments would fall in the next year, it is doubtful if very much economy would result with all the exceptional powers which the former could exercise in a singular time like the present. The Finance Minister has wisely refrained from summarily putting his hands into the provincial purses, though the minor Governments must be prepared next year to sacrifice some portions of their allotments to meet the increased needs of the Empire. As for the expediency of raising the salt tax again, we have already stated that nothing short of the most unforeseen calamities ought to render it possible. And it should be possible only with a re-imposition of moderate import duties if found insufficient to make up an extraordinary deficit. While England itself indulges in certain import duties, India is entitled to them in a far higher degrëe indeed. If England practically ignores the fine principles of Free Trade, inborn to itself, it cannot fairly drag poor India into the mire of insolvency by refusing it the recovery of the duties which the people do not feel and which hardly affect the merchandise of both places one way or the other. We wish Sir Auckland had recorded a strong protest against the too close policy of his predecessors which has inflicted such injuries on our finances as has ended into fresh taxation, but what is worse has crippled our resources for advancing the welfare of this Empire. The

public bodies in India must be prepared to have our import duties restored, should there be a further fall in exchange, and the probability of any future increase in the salt tax effectually checked. As we have always maintained, salt is the one thing which ought to be free for use, very much as air, water, justice, and should be taxed only when every possible resource fails.

If we advocate the re-imposition of the import duties, we consider their value in a legitimate sense to be higher than that of the salt tax, *i.e.*, if you can have a light salt tax, you ought the more so to approve of light import duties on cotton goods. The latter, like the former, tax all alike. The only strong ground which Sir Colvin can advance in favour of the abolition of the import duties is their somewhat protective character, since the Indian Mills pay no excise duties. But they will, according to the measure under discussion; while some of our export articles are heavily taxed in England. So we say restore import duties in a revised form if you like, till we become strong and refined enough to adopt the Free-trade principles in their entirety. The Finance Minister rightly twits those with whom "it is always popular to pass obligations on to "other people which is a kind of popularity which no Government, "anxious for the equitable adjustment of the burdens to be imposed "upon tax payers, can possibly wish to acquire." But the Hon'ble gentleman has not been able to explain the theory of the Manchester popularity which was freely urged when the abolition was effected. The Finance Minister has, besides this, not viewed the question in its comparative light of popularity as in reference to other measures of the essential further taxation, which the present income tax measure undoubtedly is.—*24th January*, 1886.

How the "Famine Insurance Monster" is dealt with.

However short the time allowed to the general public to examine the proposed measure for re-imposing the Income Tax Sir Auckland Colvin, the Finance Minister, has not been sparing in the exposition of his application of Ways and Means, which, in the opinion of the Government, has rendered the measure inevitable. His elaborate exposition has dealt with the Famine Insurance Project, which has been variously viewed by the articulate portion of the people, so many of w[illegible] have [illegible]ged the Government for 'misapplying' the Fund. [illegible] ern-

ment of India who have, through their Minister, at least vouchsafed to us a free and full explanation on this one of the most vital points of our present finances.

Sir Auckland maintains that the Famine Insurance Fund cannot be *religiously* used as such under *all* conditions. We sympathize with him to a certain extent. Supposing we had no famine for some time, and had an extraordinary expenditure come over us, should we prefer a grievous taxation to the appropriation of this Fund so accessible? This is the main issue which we are called upon to solve, and we may attempt to solve it further on. A fund raised on statutory principles cannot be so raised unless those principles could be observed. But under dire conditions even such principles should be subject to relaxation, while the responsible authorities would be bound to restore the statutory condition as quickly as may be possible. By subjecting any new revenue obtained for a particular purpose to a specific statute, the State is bound to relinquish that revenue as soon as the purpose for which it is levied cease to exist. If Government were to continue the said levy, under whatever pretence, such a proceeding could no doubt be termed dishonest. But while the revenue functions of the Government have not been developed, nor the administrations placed in full swing, the Government cannot, in the ordinary run of things, raise a fresh revenue within the four corners of a closely built Statute. Very strict Statutes of pecuniary obligations are usually applicable to highly constitutional governments presiding over the affairs of highly enlightened and independent communities. The condition of India, in each of these two respects, falling below this standard, we consider Sir John Strachey to have been cautious when he said in the Viceregal Council in 1877 :—

"In saying this I should explain that we do not contemplate the constitution of any separate statutory fund, as such a course would be attended with many useless inconvenient complications, without giving us any real security. Unless, then, it should be proved hereafter by experience that the annual appropriation of a smaller sum from our revenues will give to the country the protection which it requires, we consider that the estimates of every year ought to make provision for religiously applying the sum I have mentioned to this sole purpose, and I hope that no desire to carry out any administrative improvement, however urgent, or any fiscal reform, however wise, will tempt the Government to neglect this sacred trust."

Though new taxes were raised in the time of Sir John Strachey to meet the deficits which the irregularities of the revenues and expenditures and the occurrence of unexpected famines caused, that Financer, we know, did

not admit that any Province had any special right on the new funds, though realized in that province, except when it was actually attacked by a famine, or it chanced to secure famine protective works. It is desirable to see how he arrived at this conclusion .—

"The intention of the Government is to obtain the means of meeting the charges that arise in all parts of India on account of the relief of famine, whenever such calamities occur. This could not be done if the additional income obtained were specially allocated for expenditure in the provinces where it is raised, and there never was any such intention. At the same time it is held to be desirable to employ the Provincial Government in obtaining the funds, and in supervising their application so far as it takes the form of an investment in useful works of a remunerative character. It is with this exclusive object that it has been proposed to make the new taxes provincial, so that the best possible agency shall be secured for their collection and for administering their outlay in detail. I will not attempt to state in detail the reasons why the persons responsible for the administration of the finances reject separate funds of all kinds unless under very special circumstances, as productive of confusion and complication without any counterbalancing advantage. It will be enough, probably, after what I have already said on this point, to reconcile the Council and the public to the decision of the Government, not in the present case, to create any separate funds, if I point out that any other determination might lead to results probably not contemplated by those who have suggested the establishment of a separate fund; I mean that this might involve the necessity for imposing more taxation. Suppose, for instance, that the produce of new taxes were by law strictly set apart from the general revenues and paid into a separate fund only to be applied to specified purposes. If, then, any sudden change of circumstances arose, calling for seriously increased expenditure, or causing a considerable falling off in the revenue, we should have to choose between the imposition of fresh taxes and the abrogation of the law constituting the fund; for I set aside the idea of meeting ordinary charges by borrowing as a course financially inadmissible. This dilemma might arise, though the pressure was likely to be only temporary; nor can any one say that such a contingency would be at all improbable, or that it might not occur any moment"

Sir John Strachey's ruling—confirmed by the present Minister—would rather dangerously strike at the root of equitable divisions of revenues for the purposes of equitable expenditures as applied to the different provinces, according to the respective financial capacity of each, laid under tribute by the Empire at large. In no decade will some provinces get what they gave, while the rest had received what was their due, and perhaps even more. A chaotic system of exactions and disbursements is apt to generate a deleterious unequableness, both in the system of administration as in a due development of communal life and interests. If technical adjustments of assets and liabilities have been in the way, we should like to know if other adjustments have been kept in view, and, these are serious enough. If Province *a* has absorbed in a decade what Pr[illegible]ince [illegible] produced, what compensation has been afforded to [illegible] rovince *b*

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specially absorbed a part of its Extra for two consecutive decades, and Province *a* has appropriated for the same period all the residue of Province *b*'s Extra, what compensation has, again, been afforded to the latter? And from what sources? Any local government which is influenced by strict probity combined with humane zeal and earnestness,—if it is not a chaotic unintelligible mass,—must address itself in this wise indeed. It is admissible that all pecuniary intermutal adjustments could not be based on a theoretic perfection, but a certain amount of essential, practical perfection is desirable in all cases in which the condition and prosperity of the several tracts are generally found well-balanced. All exceptionally impoverished tracts will need nourishment from the overfed portions of the Empire, in much the same manner as a diseased limb may aptly withdraw a part of the healthy circulation of the rest of the body. That there are accidental and erratic principles at work, both in the *parts* and the *whole* of the administrative machinery, appears clear from the absence of regulative elements, whether referring to the revenue or the disbursing capacity of the several provinces of the Empire. And this is by far one of the most important points which both the Press and the public associations of the country have entirely missed. In constituting what surpluses should be like, and how these should be brought about, a good deal nearer objects appear to us to have been in much prominence. The "Surpluses," again, are nice plain, and smooth bodies, bereft of variations, either in dimensions or character. The local fitments and joints of a diversified type are a good deal absent as much as the base and the capital to be reserved merely, as they should be, for relievo, instead of ready supervenisms strutting forth ever and anon, in all positions alike. We have, therefore, only to sympathize in the despair expressed by Sir Auckland Colvin, that "error, more "especially wilful error, dies hard; and here am I in 1886 again scaring the "head of this Hydra, ineffectually no doubt in my turn too."

There is so much reform needed in the administration of the revenues, expenditures, surpluses, and deficits, that we are not willing to aggravate the difficulty one jot by refusing to believe that the Famine Insurance Fund has been administered with the proper modicum of care. For the ordinary debt has been reduced since 1878 by £11,349,780 or, to employ the terms of the Finance Minister, "rather more than the figure of "£1,500,000 per annum which, it will be remembered, was the figure "originally contemplated." It may be urged that the ordinary surpluses

might also, and ought to, have contributed to a part liquidation of this debt. There has been actually much of famine-preventive works, as also productive ones executed from the Insurance grant, and so far as these were *emergent*, the country has no doubt been benefited by *preventing* additional loans being contracted. The Government of India have acted wisely in not touching this "monster" of the Insurance Fund while the military charges have been enhanced, and the price of silver has fallen in England. Any such course would have raised some hue and cry, though the present position of the Government, as far as the slashing critics are concerned, is between the frying pan and the fire. When they have denied the charge of misdirecting the Funds, and have kept them intact—in that extensive famine-preventive works are now on the hands of the Public Works Minister—whose last financial speech is a model of shrewd administrative experience and rectitude, and a keen, sober, well-balanced judgment—a respectable portion of the Press and the public bodies have fallen foul of the Government for daring to devise a direct method of touching some part of the heavy profits of the rich and the influential classes who have hitherto eluded Governmental scrutiny. But a consideration of this attitude will be entered into hereafter. We have some doubts, however, as to the propriety of employing the Insurance Fund in "productive" works, as has been done, as far as these productive works have not also been *famine-preventive* works Sir Auckland is very strong on the necessity for appropriating the funds when the only alternative would be between it and a grievous extra taxation. As we have said ourselves, we would prefer the former, but surely not until such inocuous sources of revenue as the import duties have been re-imposed. We are sure the Finance Minister does not seriously mean that thousands may die of famine--which may especially be due to the non-construction of a full complement of preventive works, if the hon'ble gentleman were to carry out his strongly worded resolve—rather than that the import duties (and other mild taxes we have been advocating for years) should be imposed! We should be relieved to know that these are not the able Financier's intentions as his speech clearly defines only the contrary.—*31st January*, 1886.

*"The financial history of the last 25 years is strewn with the skeletons of discussions on direct taxation, and more than one of my predecessors is gibbetted on that dismal Golgotha for the part which he took in connection with it. It has been my duty, in the course of my studies on the subject of direct taxation, to read again lately the various debates upon that much vexed

subject in which at different times my predecessors took part during the 20 years between 1860 and 1880. I have, in truth, but just emerged from them, like Œneas from visiting his ancestors in the Shades, and I am still overwhelmed and overcome with the sulphurous atmosphere in which I have lately been groping my way; atmosphere, "from whose flames no light but, rather, darkness visible—Regions of sorrow, doleful abodes where Peace and Rest can never dwell." So that I am not likely to underrate the oppressive climate if the region into which I am doomed to re-enter and into which I must invite the Council to follow me. The aphorism of Burke, quoted by one of the most distinguished of those who have held my present office on an occasion similar to the present, that "it is as difficult to tax and to please as it is to love and be wise," is one, the truth of which has been illustrated in the person of almost every one of my predecessors, and will, I have little doubt, be once more illustrated in mine. But in spite of what has gone before and in spite of what remains to be said (and I fear that we shall find during the next few months that a good deal remains to be said), there can, after all is said and done, be no manner of doubt, but that one great fact remains established; one great blot on our administration not only still unremoved, but aggravated by the course of events in recent years. It is this, that, putting aside those who derive their income from land in the temporarily-settled districts, the classes in this country who derive the greatest security and benefit from the British Government are those who contribute the least towards it. Many opinions of many kinds have from time to time been expressed as to the nature of the advantages or disadvantages introduced into this country by British rule, but on one point all (even the most envenomed and hostile of our critics) are agreed, and that is, that it has given greater security to life, property, and trade, and to the amassing, therefore, of wealth, than any Government that ever preceded it."

Statesmanship of Direct Taxation.

WE quote these pithy and striking sentences from the last great financial speech of Sir Auckland on the question of the present policy of establishing—probably in a permanent form—direct taxation in India. It gives us satisfaction to note that the position taken up by the Finance Minister is perfectly sound and business-like. If we differ from him in some parts of his masterly exposition of the state-affairs in connection with direct taxation, the principles that we have held for many years on the subject will not differ from those expressed by Sir Auckland himself; for our differences must only serve to point out the greater strength which can rightly be accredited to the position of the Minister in regard to this question. It is unquestionable that the natives of India have been granted full security in respect of their lives, property, and their trades and occupations. They could much safely amass wealth now than they did under native rule, though it is also time that the civilized manners introduced amongst us have very civilly led to the extraction of wealth from India, without as civilly bringing in an equivalent wealth in return. But

as far as direct taxation is concerned, this evil has no justification in the escape of those several lacs of our community who earn a lot of money from the earnings—say we—*of our masses!* Sir Auckland could have very well said—"you *lucbas!* you, who make large profits on the industries provided you from the accumulated efforts of the masses, grudge to pay a few shillings from the pounds you so surely and safely earn, while there is no poor man in the country whose annual earnings hardly amount to more than a hundred or two hundred rupees, who either escapes indirect taxation, or direct, or both put together? While the poorer classes are, in numerous instances, both indirectly and directly taxed, it cannot be but a public disgrace to the country, that all classes, rising upwards from the tax-paying poorest, should escape the very tax which is perceptible and substantial for those who enjoy the benefits of a powerful Government that largely lives on land proceeds and salt and excise duties." It is hardly likely that Sir Auckland's pointed remarks will now any more fall on the "dull ears of a drowsy man," for neither the Government nor the general public would any longer suffer themselves to be hoodwinked, as in those happy loose days when hollow clamour produced greater effect than the deep moanings, or the wise grumblings of the honest and the experienced. The remarks of the Minister, however, run thus in a pretty correct groove :—

"I know that what I have said as to the immunity of the middle and upper classes from their due share of the public burdens is as a twice-told tale, vexing the dull ears of a drowsy man; but it is nevertheless a grievous blot on our Indian administration, which urgently calls for removal, and which, I believe, with patience, prudence, and the exercise of a little fortitude, must and will be removed. Efforts have indeed, at various times, been made to remedy this scandal, for scandal it is of the greatest magnitude when the poorest are called upon to pay heavily for the support of the Government and the wealthier classes are exempted; but from one cause or another the measure has never been carried out except for short and broken periods of time."

Sir Auckland maintains measures of economy and the re-imposition of higher salt duties as those of reserve to be resorted to when others fail during a financial exigency. The exercise of vigilant economy is an indispensable feature in every proper administration, whether it denoted prosperity or adversity. But we may respectfully put to our energetic Financier, if it would ever be desirable for the British Government to forsake light import duties of various descriptions, which would indirectly extract from the smaller and larger purses of the [illegible] while the barest necessaries of life would be made the [illegible] by the Government. The Financial Kni[illegible]

direct taxation like the Income Tax to be the proper instrument of relief during a financial crisis, for we may go further and submit that a perfect Income Tax must be ever-existent in the system of a progressive administration. Whether you use a horse much or less, you have to feed him without fail: so, whether we are solvent or insolvent, all the able classes of the country must pay for its government according to their respective capacities. We may not, therefore, fall in with the supposition of Sir Auckland that under any condition a Government would be wise enough, or could be legitimately led to suspend or abolish direct taxation. Should Government have stuck to it from the day they were intimidated into shaking it off from their constitution, and only said that we were justified in the eyes of God and man to tax, you the hundreds and thousands of pounds-making officials and merchants, who gain these from the daily labour of the millions who are scantily fed, and to tax you to the utmost of your ability and use the whole of these proceeds in bringing up the primitive *rayets* as various classes of artizans and professionals and honestly exploring the physical resources of the country, our Indian administrators would have gained enduring fame for their patience and ability, instead of the fitful praise and censures of the irresponsible croakers, the worthless applause or condemnation of interested officials, the fast-colored brood of amateur politicians and writers, and the empty-witted, rapidly generating flock of magpies which bask in the lights and shades of the *rajkarobar*. There is the elementary political, as also an extremely humane, duty of our rulers to see that the streams and currents issuing from the blessed mounts of fertile liquid are not allowed to run off to the sea, sharp and straight. The wealth which the able subjects of the Crown earn is nothing else but these bounteous streams issued by the country itself, which it is horrible to let waste, which have to be taken round and round, and which should be made to go through many a course, for they will only be thus augmented and multiplied. Where are the millions and millions of the industrial and thriving classes who could increase our export, import, and intermutual trades a hundred-fold; who could soften down the barbarities of Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey, Burmah, or China, and who could tell in the very heart of the common English Homes, and the homes in other parts of Europe, that the Indians are not a stupid miserable lot who could be happily fleeced of their money, and yet are not deemed fit to have that embrace of fellowship, to render themselves

greater friends, and be useful to the world at large. This conception of native India—which may yet be unfelt and unperceived, but still must be taken as a potent force—explains the hitch in the way of a perfectly unqualified endorsement of the following views of Sir Auckland:—

"In point of fact, so far had the matter gone, and so ripe was it for settlement, that no financial necessities had now overtaken us, we should have been imperatively called upon, in any case, very shortly, either to abandon direct taxation altogether, or to take some measure of the nature which we now propose to introduce. It was impossible to go on from year to year admitting and deploring the evils of the existing tax and doing nothing whatever to remedy them. That was how the matter stood till the commencement of this year. We had the choice of abandoning direct taxation or of extending it; and we were in such a position that we could no longer decently delay making up our mind to adopt one or the other. But we no longer have even the choice now. As circumstances stand for the reasons which have been, I trust, sufficiently explained in the course of these remarks, it is obviously impossible to us, even were it desirable, to abolish direct taxation; for we cannot spare the half million which it brings into the Imperial Treasury."

We must deplore the condition of public opinion in India which compels its august functionaries to halt between direct taxation and its abolition, *while the country, in its fast growing condition, stands aghast* at the national poverty and misery arising from the marked absence of those well-developed constitutional forces to train up the subjects in various paths of industry and ingenuity. Let us then humbly submit that enter upon a broad national system of technical instruction throughout the country; launch upon a new national expenditure of at least five or six crores a year; and on the wide-reaching plan we have ventured to explain in a separate work on this large question being taken on hand permanence and elaborate the income-tax on a fair, amicable and full-stretched basis; but do not favor the supposition that the country can afford any day hereafter to abolish it. And, in the work just stated, we have suggested other agreeable forms of taxation to provide for this great and blessed expenditure which should be advocated by every organ of the country—no matter what its colour and creed may be, for the measure will be grateful to friends and foes all alike—as the worthy senior Councillor of Lord Reay recently so well put it—till the dream of filling the country with its lacs of artizans', traders' and scientists' schools, laboratories, &c., is realized.

While we have had to dissent from a part of the lines of policy [illegible] ich the Finance Minister would work in regard to [illegible] indirect ones, such as those relating to salt, the

mention the important untouched resources pointed out in the work on "Technical Education in India"—we feel bound to give our entire adherence to the reasons which the Hon'ble gentleman ascribes as existing against an abolition of direct taxation :—

"*If we are bringing under contribution some 80,000 new persons, of whom a large part are officials, and of whom all are in comparatively easy circumstances, it is because we refuse absolutely to emancipate this small handful from taxation by adding to the burden of the 180 millions, who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, and on whose shoulders the burden of the too vast orb of the public fisc at present practically rests. I do not, therefore, come before the Council to-day as an apologist for direct taxation. I have no intention here at this present moment of entering upon any examination of the merits or demerits of direct taxation in India or of anticipating the objections to it which, at a later stage of this Bill, may very probably be urged upon this Council. I think it very possible that the venerable old weapons of attack, the arquebuss of 1860, and the muzzleloader of a later day will be furbished upon and brought out with the last weapon of the moment, and once more will be levelled at us; that the imposing structure of former discussions will be lugged from its resting place and paraded round and round this Council table with its sable nodding plumes, its gloomy trappings, its scenic accessories of word painting and its motto of sæva in dignatio.*"

We hope to live and see the day when the Queen's Government becomes so homely in India, that they could resort to as many direct forms of taxation as the prior introduction of the thousand and one methods of practical and industrial instructions may render essential, and even popularly acceptable. One great trait which we observe in statesmen of the type of Lord Dufferin, or his Councillors like Sir Colvin, Mr. Ilbert, or Mr. Hope, is to accurately judge every set of circumstances, not according to any foregone conclusions, but as they may be found inherently existing. And so it would even be presumptuous for us to express a hope, that before the term of the noble Earl's Viceroyalty expires, the country may be destined to present itself in that most pleasant and fully garbed field of industrial tuition and a penetrative physical exploration throughout every division of the empire, which the syrens may sing, the angels themselves may descend from the Heavens to appraise, or the countless ages of our planet's future may foreshadow in a coming jubilee of the myriad nations of India and Asia.

We like to hear how Sir Auckland delivers himself, as we see a chance of the Councils of our Empire being gradually enabled to see through public sophisms, and miscalculated agitation and indignation, whether of individuals or classes. At any rate in respect of one great economic problem which direct taxation from personal incomes forms, we are

being well driven out of the impenetrable mists of many years, and our worthy Finance Minister well takes the bull by the horn :—

"The choice lies between the classes who have or who can make for themselves a margin and those who have no margin at all. It is on the *misera contribuens plebs* that an increase of the salt tax, or a re-imposition of import duties such as the Madras Chamber of Commerce have lately advocated, would fall. We are all, I am aware, concerned in the measures necessary for the safety of the Empire, but I may remind this Council that it is certainly not the middle or the upper class of native or the Anglo-Indian merchant or official who are least concerned. So that neither in this regard can I come before this Council as an apologist. In the necessities of the time—in the interest of all classes of the community—in the present incidence of our Indian taxation—in the legitimate and necessary result of the financial policy pursued by our predecessors—in the admission of those who oppose an Income Tax—will be found the justification of the measure which I now have the honour to ask your lordship to allow me to introduce. I have shown what our financial position is. I have added that, while we are not forgetful of economies, we cannot hope, in the ensuing year, for any great relief in this direction ; I have stated why, in our opinion, resort to indirect taxation is undesirable ; I have pointed out that direct taxation is the necessary outcome of the financial policy of the last eight years ; I have drawn attention to the provisions of the Bill to prove that it is framed with a view to profiting by the great experience which in a quarter of a century we have acquired, I have glanced at the objections which may be urged in view of the silver exchange, and while deploring its effect on the position and the circumstances of so many here in India, I have given my reasons for thinking that, objection for objection, there is more to be said in favour of the struggling silent masses than of the few on whom addition to their present difficulties will fall ; and I now look to the candour and intelligence of my hearers to decide whether in these circumstances some revised form of direct taxation is not inevitable, and whether direct taxation in the form embodied in the Bill which I wish to lay before the Council is not unquestionably a course which is more free from objection than any which can be urged upon our attention as alternative."—*14th February*, 1886.

PART VI.

NATIVE STATES.

Kings and Queens in Native States.

It is notorious that, with but a few exceptions, the administration of Native States in India is in the hands of uncultured men and women who have mainly been instrumental in keeping the fair kingdoms in a constant state of disgrace and disorganization. Not even the princes, to whom a smattering of education has been imparted, are found to bear out the promises formed of them when they had been attending a college, or under a specially organized tuition. It is not merely the atmosphere of a school or a college which, for their sakes, has to be prevented from being tainted, or that the tutor given to a prince is needed to be morally, intellectually and physically strong. The associations of the prince in the Durbar and the Zenana are equally needed to be as wholesome as pure-minded statesmen would wish them to be. There is yet a third requisite which the prince himself has to fulfil, if there be any chance of his turning out an honourable prince. His own innate character goes a good deal in his rapidly acquiring all the high qualities of a ruler. It is generally stated that on this side of India, there is a young prince whose own nature may favor an easy development of the accomplishments needed for a strong, humane, and civilized ruler. We are personally acquainted with some rulers whose early academical training was nearly everything desirable, but whose subsequent career turned out little better than that of uncultured, miserable and luxurious tyrants, or of demoralized, feeble nonentities. There is, therefore, something in the grain of the royal person, which either incites him to approved paths of life, or to its debased ones.

Those who take to the latter course feed on the most selfish cravings, while they become the saviours of those who know how to conciliate them and gratify their rapacious and immoral desires. Such enfeebled persons have very little capacity to draw distinction between public and private interests, or to restrict the Durbar ladies and attendants to the sphere in which alone they could be useful. In rare instances the utility or necessity of a native chief taking to a second queen is no doubt

discoverable. It is, however, a matter of frequent scandal that native chiefs take to half a dozen or many more wives, who all intrigue to establish personal influence over State affairs, or who busy themselves with bringing about the ruin of each other. The miseries of an unfortunate chief who takes a pride in having a succession of queens, without a rational excuse for the act, finds himself in the end disgusted with each and all, or on his own part intrigues for the downfall of all, excepting the one he may choose to keep by him, with a prospective view of having a fresh instalment of more queens as soon as these are forthcoming to attract his lust or fancy.

But like the oasis in a desert, we do find a native Durbar where the prince is well trained, sensible, honest, and always influenced with a desire to do good to his people. To this happy circumstance, another pleasing feature is added. The queens, junior and senior, show a desire to remain aloof from political turmoils. Probably the one who fear the latter most, may have a personal experience of mischiefs perpetrated in past days by *khutputees* and those, great and small, who were led away by the guiles of ambitious, but ignorant women. She may have observed gross plunder and other crimes committed under the name of justice, which may have led to the disgrace, ruin, and death of the very lords of the State. In the midst of general anarchy and dissipation, she might have had to bear an untimely shock by the death of her own lord, after which a crowning misfortune might have overthrown the State itself. Not even the most trusted astrologers, or their most thoughtful devices, were ever able to supply an antidote for the evils resulting from absolute powers confided in men of no ability, but filled with mean, treacherous, and greedy tendencies, and in women, though charming in appearance, but devoid of all high intelligence, or even the ordinary wisdom and common-sense required for display in matters of State. The better-typed queens might thus have experienced how the dark days of a State came, how they slowly disappeared, and how bright days dawned for it once more. Probably, one of these queens, noted for intelligence and engaging manners, unluckily becomes a widow, and by a further lapse in the State it is placed under the protected administration of the British till such time as the next ruler is brought up and attains his majority.

It is in such interregnum that the said queen is able to make an exceptionally good impression. It is well that she does not miss this good opportunity to gain prominence and acquire State prestige.

Foreign elements have come in with exceptional and grand opportunities to save the finances from the most elementary ruin, and reduce order from chaos and anarchy. Every department is in the utmost disorder, and a large host of the old officials are rascally incompetent. All the old orders have apprehended a complete sweeping of all and everything that once helped to the downfall of the State. The predominant motive is a very respectable one—that of preserving the landmarks and traditions of the State and securing its peculiar integrity. The scene becomes altogether gratifying,—for the pillars of the State have ample scope to acquire a wide and deserving fame. They act for the defacto-ruler, who is in he minority. The leader of the new party has any amount of responsibility to discharge, and yet his very position would enable him to shirk or smooth over certain responsibilities which would belong to the actual ruler of the State. The period happens to be exceptionally favorable to establish a claim to popularity—modest in some instances, and high in others—among almost all the existing parties in the State. The task at once partakes of pleasing patriotism. Both the political and religious classes do not find themselves cast away—which would have been a drastic measure pronounced all around as being undesirable. The head of the female household properly comes in for some good part she is known to play in the task of reforming the administration. A native queen taking so quietly and sensibly to the reformed ways of an administration peculiarly excites the sympathies of those initiated in its affairs. The work of reorganizing the State, however, could not be completed at one stretch. Many knotty problems are left behind, for after all it is only the office of guardianship which is discharged, while the ruler himself is young. In his turn he may give signs of capacity for justly and vigorously ruling the State. At the very outset he indicates the distinction between the private affairs of kings and queens on the one hand, and the business of the administration on the other. The principles of conduct in both cases gradually take to certain variations, which particularly stimulate the State in those respects which could not have been grasped in the probationary period. The State more and more proceeds towards permanent ends of an administrative constitution. The actual ruler who is installed to exercise full powers of sovereignty finds himself charged with increasing responsibility. Constant temptations are put in his way to give an unrestricted reign to his actions of freedom, and the

nervous ruler tries to resist such temptations. He is reminded that he has certain duties to discharge to those who have helped him to the throne, and he naturally becomes sensitive in respect of a satisfactory acquittal on this account. He finds that every one about him has any number of claims to advance—pretentious or otherwise—and becomes anxious to weigh them all fully; for, otherwise, the resources of his State would not flourish, but be impoverished. The State is full of important personages of the old type. It becomes so difficult to resist the seductive solicitations made to one's own ruler, whose accession to power was so earnestly awaited by those who were before neglected. Every queen, every sirdar and every one of the numerous other dignitaries has got her or his sufferings to show: each of these has to represent how ancient *rights and privileges have been invaded, and how essential it is that they* should be restored. Few would be inclined to believe in the change of times, circumstances or persons, which inevitably reduce individual pretensions in the increasing force which the principles of public good thrust upon the attention of a *mabap* ruler. Perhaps the principal among these varied parties is the first to feel her or his altered position. That personage may be a widowed queen possessed of a certain amount of public prestige. She is—if not she will be—the first to exercise that valuable self-denial which would reduce the embarrassments of the young ruler, or encourage him in his zeal for the organization of the State. The co-operation she is said to have rendered in his minority, she would even be better prepared to render now. Her relations with him may be like those of a mother to a son. But she has the wisdom of observing the distinction between a son and a ruler,—a distinction which, somehow or other, becomes all and all in the efficient administration of a State. She may profitably look to the province held by the late Prince Consort as in conjunction with the British Empress. In the present instance the sexes affected may be taken as reverse. As the king is paramount in all matters of State, so the dowager queen may be left as much as possible the master of her own personal affairs. She derives satisfaction from the thoughtful expenditures of State revenues, and observing the increasing needs of popular services tending to the prosperity of the people, and she would be inclined to have her own requirements curtailed. She now encounters a more difficult time than she ever did before, thus a greater opportunity being presented her to become a more genuine and a more permanent source of strength to the

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reforming State. In inclining herself to the requirements of public policy and public prosperity, she would find the right balance for herself, for she is not likely to find this in any inspiration tending to establish a narrow-scoped coterie, to which the larger existence of the State would be entirely foreign. It is all well if this coterie is allowed its own legitimate play which no king or queen can ever be angelic enough to be able to totally mar. The young king who understands the practical art of a successful government, is likely to do everything to maintain her elderly position, with an inward desire that if little parties did not find themselves out of their balance in relation to public affairs, that he would like to listen to what the dowager now and then thought of this measure or that. The Chief may not quite like that in these days, when women have not generally acquired a reputation for statecraft, or when so many of the adherents about a queen have not passed the test of a little commonsense states-manship, that women may be inspired by favorites, as a king may be legitimately inspired by the best of his well-recognized functionaries. He would possibly do this with his own queen who, on her own part, would be quite content with the adoration and love of her husband king. But both the kings and queens admit the indispensibility of retaining favorites, and they would delicately manage to keep each of them in his or her own legitimate sphere. There occur liberal and generous responses between strong kings and strong queens going a great way in suppressing un-pleasantness and promoting mutual good-will and esteem.

As a principality answering a sketch of this sort may pass into the hands of an energetic ruler in a serious business-like manner, certain transitionary stages may have to be overcome both by kings and queens. The king would gradually lay the basis for something approaching a constitutional government. Unless the king makes his power felt, the discordant elements could not be united to produce any harmonious action, paving the way for a moderate constitutional government. The act of changing the tone of a native durbar into that of a responsible autocratic monarchy of the most approved possible pattern, involves a large amount of constant friction which has to be very cleverly dealt with. The meaner or the crafty orders of the people, habituated to live upon the State, may spread sensational stories as to the relations between kings and queens. Politicians and functionaries responsible for the conduct of the State know what weight to attach to the talk of the vulgar. Many anxious and delicate

THE great point of interest in the present state of affairs at Baroda is the capacity displayed by its young ruler to make himself personally conversant with the details of his administration, and ordering measures for its improvement as far as he can at present perceive these. Any one who cares to know about the present affairs may admit the absence of exaggeration in the view just announced. The manner in which he develops his solicitude for bettering the state of his kingdom and subjects, rather creates an anxiety that he may overwork himself, and evince anxious care to such a degree as to cause, perhaps, an occasional uneasiness among impartial observers, or his friends and admirers. His last singular tour in the most malarious district subject to his dependency, is an instance to the point. It was said that the only time when that district could be visited with safety was the hot weather, and His Highness Syaji Rao made up his mind to perform the meditated tour at a season and for such a sustained period, that a like instance of a prince's devotion to his duty cannot readily be found in the Oriental annals. What is striking as deserving of imitation abroad is, that he encountered for many weeks the severe rigours of the present climate with the express purpose of meeting personally his subjects, residing in a remote corner, whether the semi-civilized Parsi, the rustic Koli or Bhatala, the Bheels, Gamtas, or Dublas of the Rani Mahal. No authentic version of his doings in the Nowsary Mahal is available. But the account now commonly known is enough to satisfy us, that the tour was altogether useful and interesting. The youth of the Maharaja is no doubt in his favor, but there are not five among a hundred youthful princes in India who would so readily take the step which the Chief at Baroda took in March last, and which would not have been retraced to his capital-home even in the latter part of May but for his desire to commemorate the Birthday of Her Gracious Majesty, the Empress of Great Britain and India.

The good features of a Native Chief and his administration.

The tour was full of noted incidents, all of which we have not yet known. There can be no mistake as to the spontaneous feelings of loyalty, which every class of His Highness' subjects eagerly evinced. In every town of any importance the people invited the Maharaja to the auspicious Mandwas, extensive illuminations, fireworks, and other festivities. Comfortable buildings were specially prepared, and refreshing gardens and

State. She would *rather prefer to remain a jewel* of the State on the spot than be led away by parties whose conscientious inclinations would be towards a separation fraught with gain to themselves. Her foibles have thus but little concern with State affairs, for she would particularly restrict the influences which cannot well quit the *groove for which* they would be suited. The fact that an *identification* with the modern feature of a *reformed* statecraft is held to be of an *infinitely* higher importance than with the past *systems of a Durbar management*, in which the thicker the artifices the greater used to be thought the proficiency of the *raj*, inspires the peace-makers and well-wishers to frown down calumnies, and exert for the reconciliation or consolidation of natural ties. The domain of resentment or envy finds but the most *obscure nook to hide itself in*. The *stream of soft and soothing persuasions* is let *loose on minds so* prone *to unite* under *the influences of mutual confidence and* esteem. The lesser parties only too *happily* retire *within their own domain, feeling* their movements in any divergent path as besetted with thorns by no means pleasant to force through. The higher parties, who aimed at assisting in re-adjustments, in the existence of royalties, feel the reward which the working of a true conscience brings. On a conclusion arriving, it only becomes a matter of agreeable wonder how kings and queens, who mould themselves by the means of the most approved influences, could have their unison affected by the intervention of persons not fully recognized till the last moment by one of the two (but the weaker) sides, which they had espoused with such self-willed tenacity. The glaring inconsistency of finding a set of totally inconsistent springs moving the action of any portion of a female royalty is more provokingly felt when such springs have been placed in real light. A healthily constituted and smooth working royalty is the higher necessity of a well-organized monarchy than of an ill-behaved one. To enter into well calculated measures of interdiction against elements of discord, recusance and rancour, is the one pressing duty of cultured dignitaries needed in the service of native rulers who may have to struggle against traditions of ill-repute in discharging their sacred trust. There is not a pride or ambition more innocent or more beneficial than that contributed to the task of supporting a worthy royalty.—*18th May*, 1884.

down corruption, inefficiency, or any rank indifference to earnest official work. The Maharaja's presence and speech distinctly influenced the administration of the district, in all its branches, to the better; the local officials having of course caught the contagion set them by the supreme head. This was the first time in Nowsary when there was a genuine popular satisfaction at the presence of the Chief among the people. One village was so enthusiastic that all its people united in feasting the Maharaja's hundreds of camp followers for three consecutive days. At another place sugar was distributed among them, also at the common expense of the village. On the other hand, the Chief made himself marked by liberally rewarding the enterprising, the serviceable, or the worthies of his subjects. This trait of the Chief having chosen to spend State money freely and judiciously among the mass of his subjects is in striking contrast with the extravagance of some native chiefs incurred on unworthy favourites.

Enquiries were set on foot in relation to various taxes and state assessments; the condition of forestry, municipal and public works, and of agriculture; and the capacity of the district for producing any staple articles of trade and manufacture. It is to be trusted that a year hence the important measures of reform conceived by the Chief may be fairly ready for application. This tour, of which so many misgivings were entertained, seems to have ended happily, and promises a train of beneficial results to follow, sooner or later. The destruction by fire of the Mandwa at Nowsary after the ceremony was over; the falling of a spectator into a well while the streets were overcrowded on the arrival of His Highness at Nowsary; the losing of the forest track by the Prince one evening, which compelled him to roam about in the jungle for half a night; or the attack of the fierce countless bees on the Songhud Hill, from which His Highness had a narrow escape due to the intrepidity he displayed in swiftly running down the hill: neither of these mishaps rendered the journey ill-fated. On the contrary, and to the agreeable surprise of many, the incidents increased the relish with which he uniformly enjoyed his journey. Against these incidents are to be set the really golden opinion gained by him among thousands of his subjects of somewhat opposite instincts; the opportunities secured by him for rendering them happier in due course of time; the personal knowledge acquired to check official versions hereafter arriving from the districts; the

artificial groves prepared for his reception. The rich as well as the humblest subjects gladly came forward with *nuzzers*, consisting of gold and silver coins, ancient armoury, valuable horses, or other articles of more or less *novelty*. Wherever he went, he removed every *untur* between him and the most beggarly of his subjects, who wished to speak to him. When he pushed through the forest (Rani) districts, the aboriginal people were so frightened to encounter him that they at first flew away at his sight! With a pleasing instinct, he contrived to have them brought before him again, and immediately rewarded them with money and clothes, persuading them that they all should come to him and frankly state their condition. Such confidence was thus inspired that the very next day heaps of these jungle people began joyously to besiege the Prince's tent with acclamations of praise, and rejoicings of freedom. His Highness, in the best of humors, it is said, held a regular Durbar for them, where they were all admitted! The manner in which these half-clad denizens of the forests greeted the Maharaja, while seated on the *gadi*, struck every one in the Durbar. There was never a more fortunate day to them than this one, when their own ruler was in their midst, not come with a train of inequities attached to the *Sawary*, but to see their miserable condition with his own eyes, and to assure them that measures would be devised for ensuring them a better means of maintenance. His Highness heard an affecting account of how the produce which they grew disappeared, except a very scanty portion of it left them tardily, which barely sufficed for their daily meal. For many a day they have to starve and rest content merely with the juice of the date tree. The Maharaja ordered a feast for them, many hundreds of men and women being at the same time provided with money and clothes. Large crowds gathered before the royal tent to entertain the Prince with the national dancing and singing in which they usually indulge. He visited their abodes in the jungle, and collected facts as regards their mode of living and cultivation; how they are fleeced by their Sowcars; what payment they make to the Sircar; what are their dire wants, and so forth. His Highness gathered full information respecting the effects produced by the action or inaction of various officials in the district. He was prepared to know fully their excellencies as well as deficiencies. He rewarded the deserving of the officials and hereditary dignitaries. Some became the object of his displeasure, which he suitably expressed as tending to put

predominance. Strong endeavors may be made to reclaim unsatisfactory characters if unavoidably required in the interests of a growing good administration, but they should certainly be thrown out if found irreclaimable, and if whose rejection will not compromise any vital concern of the State that may require delicate handling or gradual amelioration. The affairs at Hyderabad require masterly political ability, as much as tact and friendliness, in squaring matters of the very highest order. Some evils may be tolerated and not provoked, if thereby outweighing public advantages in other directions could be secured and would not slip out of power. We fear it would rather be presumptuous in us to go on in this strain in the absence of complete information. It is best to let my esteemed contemporary of the Calcutta *Statesman* speak below on the subject, who is able enough to substantiate what is stated by him :—

"We have said little of Hyderabad affairs of late, without any relaxation of the interest we have taken in what has been transpiring there. We have wished to allow of an interval that would afford some indication of the manner in which the administration is being conducted and its promise. And we think our contemporaries might have done well to refrain from the ungracious publication of various inspired animadversions, which could only embitter those party feelings that it is so desirable should be allayed, and which can have served no good purpose whatever. The situation is far from satisfying the requirements of good government, but landmarks have been set up, and considerable effort made to grapple with the thousand abuses which have struck deep root in a congenial soil The work is not of a day, while it is of a nature that necessarily makes no show. The surroundings, moreover, are such that never before has it been required of any Government, European or native, to do so much with so little. The new Government is not given full credit for this, and certain of our contemporaries have been led into reflections upon the new order of things, which have been inspired by those to whom the Government is necessarily obnoxious, and have felt its first measures of reform. The stories of the dissipation of the young Nizam and his Minister have been, we believe, grossly exaggerated; and the tales of the hunting excursions being mere pretext for orgies are equally untrue. The native princes have been too often driven by our policy to bury themselves in the zenana; and it was a thoroughly wise step, we believe, to interest the young Nizam in sh'kar. The hunting excursions carried the Minister into out-of-the-way parts of the country, and he has found out for himself that the condition of the Telingana districts was hardly exaggerated by Mr. Gorst. The young Minister has thus learned for himself the oppression and injustice which it is his task to remove. The more he moves about, the more likelihood is there of improvement, and solid benefit to the people. But the Minister's enemies within the camp are legion, counting, strange to say, the majority of the European as well as the native employés. * * *"

This extract will serve to give point to our previous remarks upon the ungraciousness of repeating hastily in print, malicious stories to the

and plunderers, from the increasing burden of public debt, and restoring the kingdom to order and prosperity. All native India feel no common interest in the future result of Lord Ripon having so commendably and disinterestedly charged the Nizam and his Vizier with the responsibility of renovating one of the finest Mahomedan States in the world which the ravages of time have fortunately saved in the high interests of this country. —*20th July*, 1884.

A Leaf from the Past: History of Indore.

THERE is no occasion now to ask why the past history of Indore, when the Sepoys' mutiny shook Central India, has been re-opened after 27 years. When the mutiny still raged it was decided in the Foreign Office that though H. H. the Holkar subsequent to the first few days of the outbreak at Indore sided with the British, he wavered at the outset, and left the Residency of Colonel Durand, when attacked, without any intelligence as to the coming storm, and failed to step out at once to deal a blow to the defected troops of the British camp. Colonel Durand believed that the loyalty of the Indore Chief on the first day at least stood in painful contrast with that shown by Sindiah and the Begum of Bhopal. Lord Canning decided it was so. The Holkar has ever since fretted under this ban of disloyalty and has never failed to represent over and over again, that it was an undeserved stain thrown on his character; that he had, at the risk of his own life, co-operated with British officials in quelling the rebellion at Indore, and saved British subjects by giving them a refuge in his own palace. During each Viceroyalty since that event His Highness has bitterly complained and demanded redress at the hands of the British Government with no other result than a confirmation of the original opinion recorded. He has now appealed to Lord Ripon who has promised to give his consideration to Holkar's old grievance. Such is the brief outline of the Indore question which has now strongly enlisted the sympathies of one portion of the Indian Press and the antipathies of some other portion of it. As we said above, now that the agitation has commenced there is no use questioning it. Holkar seems determined that he should not bear the stigma thrown on him for which, he urges, no evidence has been yet forthcoming. The British Government have, indeed, graciously overlooked the mistake committed by Holkar on the first day of the Mutiny, but have refused to pronounce him as loyal as Sindhia or the Bhopal Begum.

The anxious, distressful and suspicious spirit so excusable in those dark days is now entirely passed away. Strong feelings and prejudices were then generated most naturally. They did their work well, for they helped to arrest the course of mischief. The storm that overtook our Government and men like Colonel Durand was unprecedented, requiring the most rigorous loyalty of the allies. Many of them were covered with confusion and dismay themselves. Though Holkar's attitude was suspected by Colonel Durand, yet there have been other administrators who have expressed strong opinions to the contrary. If H. H. had committed any deliberate and wanton act of disloyalty, or if what was suspected as such was only the pitiable tremulousness sometimes natural in a youth of 20, there surely should be existing clear evidence on these two important points. Colonel Durand might have had grounds for supposing that he would not have been obliged to quit the Residency, had Holkar the very moment that the flame appeared asserted his loyalty in a practical manner. The Prince's inaction of a few hours seems to have brought upon him a load of discredit which has proved to him the source of inexpressible grief for the best part of his life. As he has so firmly persisted in calling for further inquiries into his conduct, and that for quarter of a century, there can be no harm in granting them. A terrible punishment has been borne by him. All this may not be quite justifiable, for so able a political officer as Colonel Durand might have considered fit in those terrible days to warn an youthful ally for the mental confusion unwittingly caused in him even for a day. Unwilful and passing defectiveness of youth in the midst of threatening associations may be excused, and may not involve the perpetration of a real disloyal attitude. There are no grounds for an angry condemnation of the political judgment passed either against or in favor of Holkar. The two apparently opposite judgments are parallel lines so close to each other, supposing the assumption to be correct that an unwitting confusion of mind ensued previous to the courage displayed by Holkar, whose position must have been terribly felt by him for some time. If the intermediary space between the two parallel lines of judgment proves to be but slight, then it will be reasonable to suppose that the Indore Chief has suffered sufficiently long for the incident which he had lost no time in repairing by doing all in his power to convince the rebels that no support was to be expected from Indore. If

the matter assumes an aspect of this sort, the extreme rigidity of English justice, the origin of which can only be traced to those exceptional times, must now become misplaced, and one of our prominent native princes should be graced with the same confidence as that extended to his brother princes. The empire cannot, then, afford to let Holkar remain under cloud for ever: certainly it cannot be so. The Paramount Power can large-heartedly forget the temporary omission looking to the importance in these days of strengthening the loyalty of native princes. The unhappy incident is now more than quarter of a century old, during which period the Indore Chief has never ceased exerting to get himself righted. One of the main points for consideration would now be, whether in these days of much greater public usefulness, the Paramount Power would be justified in attaching lasting weight to an incident which passed off like a fleeting thing even in those dreadful days of '57. Possibly it may be felt that the British Government is too strong not to excuse in course of time an unwitting and transient omission of political conduct, which other high authorities have acknowledged to have been perfectly loyal.—*20th July*, 1884.

The Poet's Chapter at Baroda.

THURSDAY January 8th was a pleasant and proud day at the Capital of His Highness Syajirao Gaekwar. Five thousand people, rich and poor, assembled not too far away from the foot of the famous and historical Hills of Powaghud, which the municipal authority of the city had explored some years ago and found that the lakes and basins which those hills had formed in a descending series below were capable for storage of water, in some instances for the city supply, and, in others, for irrigational purposes. The observations made, it is said, in the absence of instruments and professional staff, seem to have been fully realized now, so far as professional exertions have yet proceeded. Thursday at Baroda was thus the crowning day of that victory, and it is solely due to the benevolence of spirit and pluck and shrewdness which the young Chief displayed on his assumption of power that the rejoicings at the village of Anjwa last week were due. His Highness ascended the *gádi* with a resolve that his subjects at the Capital should have abundant water at as early a date as possible. With this view he went out in the country himself and appointed professional men to carry out his object. His Highness discovered sites for himself and got them tested. They were estimated at their proper worth, and either rejected or approved by him

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as the results of his practical test made apparent. The Maharaja saw the Powaghud Hills; and when he found several draw-backs in other schemes, the Engineers were once more sent in the direction of those hills.

Fronting Powaghud on its west, about seven miles down the primary basins of the hill, is located the site now fixed for the storage of water. The site is known as the Anjwa village, 12 miles to the east of Baroda. As you emerge from the *Gunjkhana Durwaza*—the watch tower of one of the main gates of the city called the *Pany Durwaza*—you enter a series of depressions of the country which lead you on to the hills. Their bold outline and majestic height, as snowed over by the morning mist, or cleared up in the noonday sun, or bathed in the tempered rays of the orb while retiring behind the hills, encasing them in a perfect gold-colored garment, not less striking and mellifluous than the day-break procession which wended back to the Mandwy as the royal youth led the bride-queen to his Palace-home resplendent in the ruby lights of the streets subdued by the tranquil golden hours of early morn, are ever present as you travel up to the Surya lake. Thousands were observed moving onward on the broad road to Powaghud while the midnight cocks were still crowing, the horizon was huzzaing the daybreak into the virgin broad outlying arms of the soft-reposing city, and the Queen of the Stars unfalteringly guiding their way as she did that of the first humble explorer who scaled the giddy heights of Powaghud, penetrated its ravines and forests, and noted the future plenty and safety of the home regions of the Surya and the Wishwamutry. As the horse-man rides over depression after depressions, browned in the endless acres of the Gaekwar's *Bid*, which, though now a waste, may, in a few years more, become famous as the breeding field for cattle and horses and as cotton, wheat, sugarcane and dairy farms, he swiftly sweeps into the vast Surya basin, now capped with thick clusters of tents, trotted upon by hundreds of horses, and made busy with the movements of thousands of human beings—where the white ants and the wild animals hitherto revelled. Topping the white sea of tents thickly resting in that auspicious basin, is the Gaekwar's deep-garnished *Nagarkhana* and the white lofty and gold triumphal arch which just at the portals of the Water-Works proclaim benediction that attend the efforts of the respected juvenile Ruler. Away from the bustle of the Gaekwar's camp, beyond the great dam line of the intended Reservoir, further into the thick mists of the

joyous morn, is pitched the camp of the British Resident and his distinguished retinue. In the heart of the Deshi camp where the urbans and the rurals meet for a happy purpose—where the roaring of long arrays of horses follow the neighing of more steeds still leaping in with their brisk riders—where the King and Queen are seated in the centre that radiates into a perfect labyrinth of streets lined by the starry lamps of the night and chastened by the toiling hands of a hundred scavengers—where the *khakhara* plant has given place to the banana tree—where piles of sweetmeats line the main road,—the desert air has disappeared, giving way to the whispers and music of a contented multitude. The tents are over-flowing with guests; high posted emissaries run to and fro between the King's Camp and those of the British *Elchi* and the Diwan; the Gaekwar's intrepid Sawars fly about in all directions; the rustic maidens streaming in from all sides with light hearts and frolic looks love to peep long into the Raja's *Shamiana*; hundreds of cooks are busy at the kitchen or amid the high piled heaps of greens; the solemn *Nagarkhana* issues its deep and loud notes high over the joyous human throng; the English band now and anon rings in familiar notes; the village bard chants the best of his antique selections, while the *Faraskhana* and *Mutbukkhana* carcuns dispose of ever-coming requisitions, the Photographer is hurrying about to catch the best glimpse of the camp, and the Sirdars and the administrators both alike stretch themselves on the soft floor of their tents, feasting their eyes not with wearying *tumars*, but with the profuse fruits and sweets which the liberality of the Maharaja has provided for them for the intervals between the sumptuous *khanas* of the day.

A short lull in the camp follows all this stir and mirth, while the noonday becomes so close as to shower the astrologic rain drops in after hours over the auspicious enclosure in which the first shovel is used by the graceful hands of the best Lady in the Camp. The King's nap is enjoyed by all. Only the nimble-footed Secretary is in request all round the time by the Maharaja and his Prime-in-Chief down to the menial hastening from an officer or a sirdar-guest. As the guests are in drowse, this smart official is busy transmitting the King's silver shovel and basket to the benevolent Lady of the day who figures conspicuously at the costly headworks to perform the first gentle stroke, which the Surya stream may be tamed into adoptin g ae

replenishment and security which a ten thousand hands working for years may bring about. A few moments more, and the whole camp is all a bustle as if moved by a magic wand. A State procession is formed, and a stream of notables mixed with every possible crowd repair to the spacious Durbar tent to give every possible eclat to the performance of a high and benevolent duty, which the sagacious and revered foreign representative happily described as one meriting the *beheesht* as the reward of future life for such a blessed act of royalty. The last act of the day following the grand Durbar in which public Deputations delivered addresses of esteem to the Chief was the grand assembly in which officials and noblemen of all castes and creeds were united to partake of one common *khana* under a common *mundup* headed by the Maharaja himself.—11*th January*, 1885.

The speeches near Powaghud.

It gives us great satisfaction to publish below His Highness the Gaekwar's short speech at Anjwa, as also His Excellency General Watson's. The policy declared by His Highness as he is desirous of following is one which will lead him at no distant time to the position of a first-rate Statesman-Ruler, the like of whom Native India needs in such large numbers. As a permanent record, let us now quote the two excellent speeches doing such honor to a large State like Baroda :—

General Watson, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with hearty pleasure that I welcome all who have come here from Baroda to-day to witness the start of the most costly and most important work of public utility that has been devised since my accession. It will be with still heartier pleasure that I shall summon you again at no distant date—for, in this work, I shall not suffer that there should be any delay—to watch the pure stream reach the centre of my capital. For, then Baroda will be blessed with an abundance of wholesome drinking water, and the greatest of the measures I am designing for the benefit of its inhabitants will be an accomplished fact. Of the town, which is the centre of Government, I cannot make a commercial centre, though I may be able to introduce some manufactures into it, of which the existing cotton mill is the first sign. But I can and shall improve its condition, and we may look forward to the time when the drainage of Baroda will be satisfactory, when its markets and main streets will be broad and pleasant, when its public buildings will be spacious, when the approaches to it from the surrounding country will be numerous and easy. But no undue haste will be allowed to vitiate real progress. This scheme, of which we are witnessing the start to-day, has been deliberately elaborated, and you have mentioned how His Highness Khanderao thought of going south to the Nerbudda for water; how the late Minister thought of going north to Mahi; how he searched high on Powaghad and low in the bowels of the earth; how, finally, the country side was ranged till the modest and useful Surya was found able to satisfy our wants. It has there-

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The speeches near Powaghud.

It gives us great satisfaction to publish below His Highness the Gaekwar's short speech at Anjwa, as also His Excellency General Watson's. The policy declared by His Highness as he is desirous of following is one which will lead him at no distant time to the position of a first-rate Statesman-Ruler, the like of whom Native India needs in such large numbers. As a permanent record, let us now quote the two excellent speeches doing such honor to a large State like Baroda :—

General Watson, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with hearty pleasure that I welcome all who have come here from Baroda to-day to witness the start of the most costly and most important work of public utility that has been devised since my accession. It will be with still heartier pleasure that I shall summon you again at no distant date—for, in this work, I shall not suffer that there should be any delay—to watch the pure stream reach the centre of my capital. For, then Baroda will be blessed with an abundance of wholesome drinking water, and the greatest of the measures I am designing for the benefit of its inhabitants will be an accomplished fact. Of the town, which is the centre of Government, I cannot make a commercial centre, though I may be able to introduce some manufactures into it, of which the existing cotton mill is the first sign. But I can and shall improve its condition, and we may look forward to the time when the drainage of Baroda will be satisfactory, when its markets and main streets will be broad and pleasant, when its public buildings will be spacious, when the approaches to it from the surrounding country will be numerous and easy. But no undue haste will be allowed to vitiate real progress. This scheme, of which we are witnessing the start to-day, has been deliberately elaborated, and you have mentioned how His Highness Khanderao thought of going south to the Nerbudda for water; how the late Minister thought of going north to Mahi; how he searched high on Powaghad and low in the bowels of the earth; how, finally, the country side was ranged till the modest and useful Surya was found able to satisfy our wants. It has there-

fore been with deliberation, but without loss of time, that the greatest of all the measures I can adopt for the improvement of Baroda has been taken. And this I may add, the gradual amelioration of the condition of the capital will not be allowed to retard the development of the resources of the State, throughout which large Public works have been or will shortly be started in the same spirit of haste with deliberation and utility, with economy, and to those projects the precedence will be given, which promise the most solid, if not the most showy, results. The Engineers, Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Jagonnath Sadashiv, will have cordial support as they have our thanks for all that has been well considered so far. (Applause.)

His Highness having concluded his address, General Watson rose and replied as follows :—

"Your Highness,—For the past three years I have watched with great interest the development of this scheme, and I have very great pleasure in offering you my congratulations on the commencement of the work. At the same time I offer your Highness on behalf of your European friends their hearty congratulations. It is also my duty to congratulate you on behalf of the British Government, who spend so much on works of public utility, and who can feel no greater pleasure than to find rulers of Native States following their example in the same direction. In the name of the ladies and gentlemen here present, I thank your Highness for having invited us, and though we may not drink of the water, we fully sympathise with the benevolent feelings to which your Highness has thus given effect. I am, indeed, rejoiced to see this great scheme on the verge of realization, and I am sure that we all sympathise with the proud feelings of Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Jagannath on this memorable day. In conclusion, I wish to all engaged in the work, down to the humblest coolie, health and strength to achieve a successful termination to their labours. I believe that the word *bhisti* means one who gives water to the thirsty, and it is said that such a one will by so doing gain a place in *Behisht* (or heaven) hereafter I trust that your Highness, who to-day gives water to lakhs of your thirsty subjects, may enjoy their gratitude and blessings in this world, and the reward of good works in the world to come. (Applause.)

—*18th January*, 1885.

The Projected Water-Works at Baroda.

We have described above what took place in the neighbourhood of Baroda last week when the Chief of that State invited the *elite* of his Capital to witness the ceremony of turning the first sod of Baroda Water-Works as performed by Lady Watson. We tried to show how that event needed the pencil of an enthusiastic painter and the imagination of a fervid poet. Let us now pass on to actual business.

About five hundred of the nobility and the commoners were assembled in the grand Durbar of the day. The foremost banker of Baroda proceeded before the Maharaja with a select deputation from the city and delivered a public address, explaining what [illegible] ures w[illegible] [illegible]en from time to time to undertake a water-supply [illegible] [illegible] d how

failed, or were not adopted, owing to some cause or other. Rao Saheb Yeshwuntrao, the worthy descendant of the late well-known and humane-hearted Gopalrao Mhyral, explained how the *Nerbudda*, the *Mual* and the *Meni* projects could not succeed, while even a small scheme which could have given a ridiculously small amount of five gallons a head proved impracticable in the times past. The discovery by His Highness of the *Mual* Tank as a fit storage for the city supply, which, however, was not without certain drawbacks, tempted His Highness to renew investigations on the Powaghud side of the country. The direction that was long laid aside by the Engineers was consequently resumed, and a spot within His Highness' jurisdiction—one of those depressions or lakes of the Powaghud region pointed out by the Municipality—was fixed upon for the construction of a reservoir by the Engineers specially charged with the work of framing a feasible project. The Chairman of the Deputation concluded the city address as follows :—

"When this great work is completed, and when every one in Baroda can command his cup of crystal water, a hundred thousand souls will, in their daily prayers, call for blessings on the ruler who has chosen to deck his power and wealth with deeds of such active and useful benevolence."

Well said. Should the project be executed as successfully by the Engineers as it has been so wisely and so generously sanctioned by the benevolent young Chief, we feel no doubt of the blessings which His Highness will reap. The Surya, or any other supplementary lake that may be allied to it might, then, with the permission of the Maharaja, well merge into Syaji Rao Lake.

We need not much doubt the aptitude of the Engineering and the Municipal authorities of His Highness in rendering the execution of the water-works conceived by the Ruler as successful as they should be. Both authorities are interested in the project; and their impartial handling should go a great way in making it as faultless for the acceptance of the State as may be possible to make it.

A work of the very first magnitude now undertaken in Gujerat, it must attract some notice of the outside public. There can be no doubt that His Highness, in according a princely sanction, fully expects the project to be executed in a sound and economic manner. The public know the careful principles which have guided the young and sagacious Prince to conclude on this occasion that his authorities will be required to fully carry out the expectations he may have formed of the project. It

is well known what mischief, waste, and disappointments have resulted from many like projects in India, however well-intentioned they may have been. In the case of Baroda State it can count upon on counterbalancing authorities falling in with the proclivity of His Highness to ensure the safe disbursement of public money. We think we shall do some service to note here the main points of the project, which, we hope, have been steadily kept in view.

The quality of the water to be impounded in the lake is a most *important matter.* The *only safe law in the matter is first to select the purest possible source,* and *never to rely on filtration as a permanent measure.* A public supply filtration, costly, troublesome, and uncertain as it is, is a most unsatisfactory expediency when the prime source of supply has not been availed of. The most effectual mode of filtration for a large number of years, and its cost, has to be ascertained with great care. Filtration is the best where it is least needed; constant filtration of water received from large areas of a country used by cattle and people is a very doubtful process of efficacy and sanitary reform. The effect of hard country drainage waters as telling on a population of low physique using the light well waters has to be *carefully considered.* The waters distilled *in Heavens,* and *intercepted in hill-basins* as soon as they fall, are different from those forming the country floods. It has always been an anxious problem how best to filtrate waters not *pure,* and *mixed up with much organic* and *inorganic, or any suspicious* matter. The safest course adopted by the sanitary authorities is, therefore, the selection of a pure water supply, which hill basins and original mountain streams have furnished in all countries.

Confined waters being unhealthy, they are particularly required to be pure and impounded in a clean hard basin free of country or any suspicious contaminations. When supplied to a large city, their depth should be particularly good, they have generally varied between 40 and 100 ft. and upwards. Shallow flood waters stagnate and become particularly foul in bad rainfalls.

High pressure service is also an indispensable feature of a costly water-supply scheme. Tapping a good depth always, the uniform pressure should take the waters as high as the highest storied buildings of a town. If the water is shallow, and the pressure unknown, the flow and supply will both create dissatisfaction. The [illegible]

pensable because of the leakage, wastage and the poverty of waters in successive bad rainy seasons. The municipal system of a large city, when adopting an extensive water supply scheme, cannot dispense with the highest possible pressure of water service, which is expected to be efficient for the flushing of drains, the watering of streets, and extinguishing the fires. Even with the best distribution system and with the system of preventing waste, there would be such constant loss of water service, that the pressure to be attained should be excellent as always leading a copious volume of water, not merely in favorable, but especially in unfavorable, seasons. All the primary object stated above must be defeated if a reservoir is shallow, and its contents can barely be expected to last one or two unfavorable seasons, especially if the rate of evaporation and absorption adopted disregards the unusual losses which sometimes occur. That such unusual losses occur is proved by the fact that large tanks have dried up in contravention to the figures of rainfall, run-off and absorption and evaporation adopted.

A tolerably good city lake is one which can retain sufficient water for two or three bad years after leaving the necessary margin for all possible losses. If a year is encountered having no rainfall, such a lake should be able to give the necessary supply. The catchment area and the river-flow, therefore, should be such as would yield an abundance of supply that would unfailingly last during one or two thoroughly bad, or two or three indifferent, years. The maximum gathering ground with the maximum river-flow being secured, the minimum of the minimum rainfall as well as of the run-off available should be computed. It is not enough that the minimum average of a three or four years should be adopted in reference to the rainfall. The safest measure will be to adopt a minimum rainfall figure to be ascertained from a course of twenty or thirty years, which should be less than the mean average of three or four years' minimum rainfall. Not unfrequently Engineers, in a hurry, are led away by the experience of the rainfall, the run-off and the evaporation and absorption theories rather more in accord with the state of nature in England than in India. There sometimes prevails a natural impatience in collecting every possible data, or an impatience which persuades the projectors to adopt favorable calculations which could not stand the test of many or even a few years.

We shall now deal with the question of a reservoir. For a city supply a reservoir which is naturally formed of valleys is the best with the necessary artificial expedients applied to it. Basins close to hills bounded by high ridges on all sides are also desirable reservoirs for storing water. There are certain essential advantages connected with hill lakes and basins which a jungle reservoir selected for a city water supply cannot possibly command. Lakes below hills or valleys—a series of which are to be found below Powaghud—is free of the great danger to which a jungle reservoir is liable when an unusual flood precipitates into it. The hill lakes or basins or valleys have natural walls, the strength of which is infinitely greater than that of earthen dams, though their inner facing may be set with bricks. The more extensive this dam business, the greater its liability to serious breaches and even wholesale destruction. If the ridges, or what the simple villageman would call it in this part of Gujerat, the *teds*, are not complete, an enormous expenditure must be incurred in their artificial construction, though they may be subject to great mishaps. The pent-up waters, when excessive, after considerable saturation, or when they precipitate all of a sudden, must play great havoc with dams, breaking through them and destroying lives and property. It being impossible to render the dam-work as strong as the natural enclosure of a hill lake—for the cost would be out of all proportion to the real use of the thing—a disproportionately long and massive dam cannot be made of stone or masonry, and therefore it may become fated to disastrous mishaps. A deep and naturally formed lake has only one side to be bunded up and not many sides for miles together : in the latter case there is great waste of money, besides such dam might some day do mischief to a city and its precincts. A jungle lake has not such facility to catch water as the hill reservoirs have, where pure rainwater is intercepted as soon as it falls. It is admitted on authority that in India the whole rainfall is not unfrequently entirely lost from the surface of the country. When a small catchment area can be relied upon for purity and sufficiency, a much larger gathering ground must fail in respect to a jungle lake. The larger and shallower the lake, the larger the catchment area, and the larger the dam : hence the worse for a city water supply. A deep hill lake absorbs and evaporates much less water than an unwieldy, superficial area in a jungle does ; besides contaminations and filtration are also much less in the first instance. Soft rainwater—which jun[illegible] —is

preventive of such current diseases as fever, dysentery, cholera, etc. Suspicious waters, though they may seem apparently clear, lay the seed of general derangement of public health and excite the disapprobation of people in the long run : no simple or chemical filtration is practicable in effecting that purity which waters lose as soon as they are spread over a wide country on being let loose from the base of hills.

The hearts of the assemblage near Powaghud must have throbbed with joy when their eloquent and energetic, hospitable and sagacious young Prince uttered from his lips the words "that the pure Surya stream may spread happiness among my subjects at the Capital." The Prince, to our mind, has managed to charge this single phrase with that caution and direction to his authorities which they would do well to be guided by. The stream of Surya, as it perenially streams down, is undoubtedly pure, except that it becomes suspicious in its *must* days of floods. It would be in its pure condition that the Maharaja would expressly approve of it, when employed for the use of the citizens, and not for the irrigation of the extensive waste between Baroda and Powaghud. Supposing the Municipal and the Engineering authorities thought the waters to be impounded in the Anjwa lake more useful as manurial waters, then the purity of the stream mentioned by the far-seeing Head of the State will have to be sought. The Powaghud Hills spill down several copious streams all of which can be intercepted in the natural lakes and basins and low-lying lands at the foot of the hills, whence the Surya takes its rise as pure and clear as the sun ascends every morning over the hills as the Surya course which has assumed the name of that heavenly orb descends towards Baroda. The pure Surya stream, as His Highness has happily termed it, he will not practically see defiled should that prove the case when intercepted in the midst of forests for city purposes. Its purity will yet be untouched only to rise in value when the Prince might handle it and its sister streams at their very source. That source will be as high as the highest eminence of the city can be commanded therewith ; and its purity will be as undoubted as the subjects of His Highness would love to hear it.

A large waste weir has been provided for the new lake under notice to discharge all surplus waters received on account of extraordinary floods. In spite of a capacious waste weir provided for a large lake, it is possible that other parts of its dam may be breached—in which case a series of outlets are constructed which, when gradually opened on a serious contin-

gency pending, all dangers are obviated in time. Subsidiary and useful channels, besides the one for the main object, may also be well thought of to save the country from any probable danger, while some attention should be paid to the unexpected tendencies which an enormous volume of water may assume in consequence of the disturbance of Nature.

We have no doubt that the local authorities will cast beforehand the probable credit and debit sides of this important undertaking, for it is undeniable that by asking the engineering and municipal authorities to put down in black and white the figures of all probable expenditure, besides that provided in the general estimates, as also the minimum figures of revenue to be derived from the waterworks, all danger of the State being led into a course of indefinite and fruitless expenditure will be avoided. The merits and demerits of the undertaking should be so thoroughly understood beforehand, that the Maharaja may have a clear idea in time of the full extent of the financial and other practical responsibility lying beneath the surface of the scheme. His Highness desires the development of his State in many a direction, and it would be very unwelcome for the finances of the State to risk unforeseen contingencies if they not be fully discovered and avoided now. It is indispensable, therefore that the most satisfactory estimates should be drawn up pointing out all the practical results to be expected. We have noticed now and then large undertakings of very doubtful benefit, but ending in great waste of public money, carried out with very little of precaution and foresight. Happily, in the present instance, the constitution of the Maharaja's administration at Baroda has been so contrived by him, even at this its early stage, that we hope the authorities are on the alert to ensure the undertaking against all excesses. Both India and Europe now look to the utilization of the purest possible water sources calculated to render all probable danger to health and failures in other respects almost impossible. Many instances of culpable waste and failures having accumulated, they are now-a-days well pondered upon to render public schemes perfectly sound and sure. The utility aimed at is made commensurate with the outlay. The risks undertaken are sufficiently well balanced with the object to be attained; existing evils are not exaggerated; existing good is not too under-estimated; the novelty of future results are taken at their actual worth. We say both India and Europe are gradually giving up iron pipes; in doing which enormous savings accrue. Earthenware s[illegible] are

largely employed as being much cheaper, more lasting and clean th iron pipes. The Punjaub Government have, we believe, made earthe pipes; and many towns in France have used the latter even with greater head and volume than Baroda is said to command. Th a saving of several lacs is expected to ensue in the general estimates giv by our contemporary of the *Times* last week.—*18th January*, 1885.

India's Expedition against King Theebaw.

It is unfortunate in the interests of the kingdoms in the East th almost all of them show more or less signs of breaki down before the wave proceeding from the Europe Powers. Turkey, Egypt, Afghanistan, Persia, are trembling under the heels of some European Power or other. Even th largest of the Eastern Empire, which is China, larger even than India, no longer the proud *terra incognita* which it was only quarter of a centu ago. Upper Burmah has just been caught in the meshes of Europea civilization. Closely connected with British Burmah, our dependency i the East, it has managed to offend the paramount power of India. It wa never strong; it never was beyond the reach of intercourse with Britis India. It has, therefore, betrayed great weakness in ousting the Britis Resident, inflicting some harm on the great British trading company whic has been trading in that country, and assuming a perfectly bellicose appear ance against the British Government: aggravating at the same time th attitude by seeking to favour the French with the object of eradicating th influence of British India from Burmah. The moderation of our Viceroy has been taken for indifference and timidity. King Theebaw has, therefore been placed in a position which is as prejudicial to his country as danger ous to himself. We have learnt of some very curious intrigues played b French agents at Mandalay. If India had not protested in time, an England had not called upon France to disclaim all her political connectio with the Burmese potentate, we should have found a would-be fox on ou eastern side, as we have a veritable bear on the north. Of all the Europea Powers, England alone having a benevolent and humanitarian part among its rulers, it is clear that some of the foreign powers have bee encouraged to press upon the frontiers of India. The too generou instincts of the British in this circumstance would have foretold no goo to India. Our own Earl and the noble Secretary of State for India hav lost no time in asserting the paramount British influence in the north as wel as the east of India. It seems that King Theebaw is labouring under

delusion, that he would not be called to account, howsoever much he may use defiance in his own kingdom; and if the Earl of Dufferin instructed from home has not lost a moment in despatching an offensive expedition beyond Rangoon, *we may assume that the golden-footed monarch* has placed the foreign subjects in danger and has given no promise yet of subjecting himself to some of the better influences from India. He is neither so mighty nor so morally influential as to dispense with an enlightened Resident at his Court, where India must have some connection and whence she must some day reach the Siamese States and China in pursuance of its civilizing and trade missions. None of the Eastern Empires have been able to conserve themselves by withdrawing from the genial influences of the potent British Queen, who is the incarnation of the highest virtues which were inculcated in the oldest times of the Aryans in Mazdiasni light. Any Empire of the East which shuns this influence *must succumb to a much more aggravated form of grief and decay*. We cannot, therefore, find fault with the declaration of Lord R. Churchill that King Theebaw should either act upon the ultimatum given him, or elect himself to be deposed. The Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State threatens to annex this inconvenient intermediary between ourselves and China, in case the recalcitrant monarch does not submit to the Viceregal decree. His Lordship has perhaps taken the shortest and the most summary course in bringing Theebaw to his senses before he could complicate matters further. He is told with the most effective directness that he will not be treated in future as anything more than one of the feudatories of India, and that he must for ever give up the presumption of becoming insolent to this country *and permitting any foreign power to sit* by the side of India and intrigue against its peace and prosperity. We think we ought to approve of this healthy vigor displayed for the second time by our shrewd and far-seeing Vizier and Viceroy of India in the interests of both Great Britain and India. Upper Burmah would serve no object of humanity by keeping itself severed from its close and most influential neighbour. It cannot stand by itself, and without our support it must some day fall by inward anarchy and foreign intrigues. Again, we certainly do not wish to have interposed between India and China a nasty trench arresting a national intercourse between the two greatest Empires of the East. The British Government will hardly carry out their threat wholesale, *for the whole Burmese dynasty* [illegible] ni[illegible] the

thoughtless conduct of one of its members. But we shall certainly applaud any action by which Upper Burmah may be fraternised with British Burmah. We sincerely wish King Theebaw may have the timely prudence of accepting the conditions in which he could be kept safe on his throne. The nation which has done so much good to India by placing it in the van of civilization have every right to carry their mission further. Both England and India should have their legitimate commercial hunger satisfied. While they cannot tolerate the States and Empires falling under their influence to grope in the dark, they are bound under divine influence to shed the rays of light in the rest of the region lying by them. No power can blame either India or England for seizing the first opportunity of aiming to humanize the States in Indo-China and China itself. It is certain that their isolation cannot last long. If India has enjoyed a mild and not a very aggressive civilization, the safety of our own country demands that our influence in the neighboring anarchical countries should be paramount. It would be suicidal to ourselves to let them fall in the hands of very aggressive and very ambitious powers from whom India could only expect mischief for a long time. Oh, for the day when India could run a direct railway line to China through Burmah and the Siamese States! What activity and prosperity will that intercourse bring to India and England, as also to the countries now suffering from a meaningless and terrible isolation from the civilized world! We cannot conceive at present of the immense impetus which would be given to our export and import trade by India's direct intercourse with China. So let us wish the expedition every success, and as much as possible without a conflict. We anticipate a peaceful end of the difficulty is at hand if no complications arise—1*st November*, 1885.

(Blessed be the strength which tempers down while it most asserteth!)

Invasion of Upper Burmah.

We cannot see just yet if there is any large essential difference between the action of the Indian Government when it invaded Afghanistan, and that which now impels it to invade Upper Burmah. At any rate the stars of Theebaw are on the decline, and his cruel and sinful career is coming to an end. We are not in a position to ascertain the exact circumstances which lead him on to his ruin and that of all his male and female associates who are incapable of holding him back. We cannot say what he might do when once his

territories are invaded. We hope no faith has been placed in his declared intentions to save European subjects in his dominion even with a war between him and India. We fear some faith has been placed in that assurance, and only hope we may not be cruelly deceived. Theebaw will plainly see in the heat of the conflict that once he is caught, or massacred, no creature or interest of his would survive him, and he might thus add a chapter more to the list of the horrible massacres of which he is already the author before he finally disappears from the scene.

The Secretary of State, coinciding with the Indian Viceroy, has done well in expressing the intentions of the Government in a very clear and forcible manner. The Government would readily consider the expediency of annexing the intervening zone between India and China should there be no other effective measure to retain the independence of Burmah and yet ensure its *entire* fidelity to the Indian *gádi*. A very strong view has been taken both in favor of, and against, the proclaimed measure of annexation. It is not likely that either England or India will be much displeased if annexation is resorted to. The party against it is likely to be left in the minority. King Theebaw is not one of the Indian princes; nor has he unfortunately done anything to be classed among them. A misguided monarch, he is an outcaste in our view in all respects. Had he been an enlightened and a strong ruler, he should have evoked the general sympathies from one end of the country to another. The only strong ground, therefore, left for any intelligent protest against the declared idea of annexation, should it be carried out, appeals to our sense of noble traditions which restorations like those at Mysore and Baroda and several other subordinate principalities of the Indian Empire have nourished and maintained in the public mind of India. No one doubts the potent strength of the British compared to which Theebaw is too contemptible for mention. The British is, however, as magnanimous as it is strong, and we can hardly believe, under certain conditions, that the Burmese dynasty will be completely annihilated for the misbehaviour of one of its violent bastards. In the heat of triumph tempted by the undoubtedly true golden vision of paving our commercial way to China, the most important factor in the pending revolution should not be lost sight of [illegible] the press of the country, and above all by the statesmen [illegible] can erase the little country to our East from the [illegible]

Our stretch of imagination ought to go far beyond the commercial an civilized needs which can be met by establishing our sovereignty on th Irrawady. The most potent factor that we should like to point ou deferentially, but in the strongest possible manner, is that be prepared fo the day when India shall be judged by its action in reference to the weal We have established our reputation for being tender towards the rights an aspirations of those who could be pressed under our thumb. It is a godl policy which shall reverberate to our praise and glory through many shining and dark age of honor and dishonor, of happiness and distresses When we should ourselves be involved in troubles and difficulties it shoul be admitted with universal readiness that we did hearty justice to thos who fell low the victim of our mercies. When we shall have to exercise ou lofty prerogative of mercy we shall no doubt be bound that Theebaw's country is for ever and most effectually prevented from turning a traitor to India, or even an unseemly thorn on its side in relation to the expanding commerce and civilization of the Indo-British. On usurping Mandalay, if we succeeded in finding a tolerably good and rightful successor to Theebaw, and securing, in the firmest possible manner, the peace and integrity of the Burmese dominion, as also all its foreign relations, without ever a chance dreaded of their being violated, or compromised, under any complications, the policy of annexation cannot possibly be resorted to. Nothing short of a failure to establish an absolute British suzerainty at Mandalay, and open the utmost possible unfettered intercourse therewith, can ever justify the British Government to extend the red line to the Burmese monarchy. No other external circumstance, inherent either in England or India, can ever justify a purely aggressive, or a purely pretentious policy, which the Indo-British Nations are influenced by the noblest instincts of mankind to emphatically disclaim for themselves and to sternly reprobate in others. We hope to have distinctly specified the conditions under which an absolute annexation may be called for, or may be held as a moral and political crime which an unfettered success will only more glaringly reveal. We shall now allow the further development of events to justify either of the two thesis we have ventured to-day to advance, while every day, perhaps, brings nearer the bombardment of Mandalay, which, we earnestly trust, may not exceed the essential degree of severity which actual and fully learnt circumstances may call for. Blessed be the strength which tempers down while it most asserteth !—*15th November*, 1885.

British action *in re* the Buddhists and their King.

There seems a great stir in the Press of India with respect to the military expedition despatched against Upper Burmah and the probable intentions of the British Government to annex that country. The Anglo-Indian Press has generally approved of the measure; but the Native Press has generally condemned it in no halting spirit. Has a sufficient cause been found to depose Theebaw, and annex the country of the Golden Throne? The answer to be just must be very carefully considered if we ourselves are to escape from the eventual condemnation of being hasty and immature in forming a correct view of the question.

We have already explained how the British Government are bound to restrain their sense of enterprise and triumph, while they may be warranted to carry fire and sword in the independent neighbouring territories. We do not think any future information or events are likely to shake our argument that an absolute annexation of the Burmese Kingdom does not appear justifiable. We do not agree with our native contemporaries that the war waged with Theebaw, or that a British protectorate over his kingdom, could be avoided. It is not to be denied that the misfortune of Theebaw is due to the absence of honest advisers at Mandalay. Hence his errors are infinitely worse than those of an Indian monarch if even much more powerful than Theebaw. His fate will excite sympathies so far that he *has not been properly guided, either by his own men or the* foreigners about him. Weak and cruel as he is—a victim of uncontrollable circumstances—we do not think it was an impossible task to make him take a common-sense view of the difficulties he has gathered around him. We must not, however, forget that it is occasionally in the nature of tyrants, entirely disassociated from overpowering civilized influences, to disregard the most ordinary signs of coming danger, or to battle against unconquerable elements. It is possible for such rulers to feel over-confident in their own violence and resolution. Theebaw may possibly suppose that the British Government might merely mean a threat, and that the usurpation of a foreign kingdom would be entirely foreign to their motives. He may thus only be waiting for a sufficient development of events to surrender, unless he is morally and physically [illegible] of realizing where his interests lay. If he is very violent [illegible]
and too obstinate to yield, he will, of course, pave the

destruction. If he has found himself too incapable to rule, he will sue for peace before the British troops arrive at Mandalay. It is much to be wished that some of his councillors may be honest enough to convince him of the folly of expecting any assistance from either of the European Powers whom he wishes to consult. He is probably basing some favorable calculations on the complications which may arise from the impending conflict between the European Powers on account of the bloody dissensions now developing in the Balkan peninsula. His foresight cannot go for much if he supposes that he could seek refuge with any friendly Power after committing the greatest possible sin against the British, hoping to regain his dominion from them when they were drawn within the Asiatic-European imbroglio. He must be extremely foolish to rely upon his own resources and those of his people, feeling sure to be able to repel the British forces. To become a wreck to one's own conceit and self-importance is what a monarch should be the last person to do. With his own ruin he effects, in a certain measure, the ruin of an independent nationality.

It may now be seen that the British advance into Upper Burmah is full of legitimate excuses. My native contemporaries should understand the gravest of all grave reasons, that it would be suicidal for India to let this neighbouring petty potentate to place any of the European Powers in a position of rivalry and menace to our own Empire. One great power has already placed itself in that position in the north, and has compromised to some extent the strength of our northern protecting barriers. We have had the narrowest escape from the Amir's country being usurped by the hereditary foe of the British. Afghanistan is now being made strong against the encroachments of Russia, and so far we feel ourselves protected from any direct offensive action against India. Our experience should teach us to adopt even a much stronger policy towards the East of India. Theebaw has openly defied the Indian Government, and has virtually threatened it by attempting to seek the co-operation of our rivals. He is closely connected with India, and not with either France, Germany, or Italy. He has foolishly failed to see that his British neighbour has by traditions and realities enormous stake close to him, in consequence of its Indian Empire, and its friendly and material interests in China. He should have known that close international relations between neighboring powers are now-a-days a point of great concern and great honour. Both

the ethnological affinities and geographical position of Upper Burmah point to their closest and irrevocable alliance with British India. The least interference of any of the remoter rival powers is fraught with distinct peril to the peace and consolidation of this Empire. The admission of one grave and faulty step taken by our infuriated, but petty, neighbor, must inevitably lead to irreparable mischief in the future. Whether Upper Burmah is no more than the Nizam's dominion, or it might have been as large as Germany or France, it matters little to India. We do not seek the dethronement of Theebaw, *because he is a very small Asiatic potentate.* Even if he were a Napoleon, and had sought to establish any formidable rival close to this enormous country, where the most responsible work is being done, and where that work needs an absolutely peaceful authority, we should have supported the suzerain power in India in subduing such an unwelcome neighbour. Even if Theebaw had become so far insane that he rendered his kingdom much more anarchical than now, the British Government would not have ventured to call him to account for it. It is when the anarchy of his rule is combined with his malignant proclivities to bring about a new and a dangerous political position for India, that the British Government have thought fit to reduce his country to Indian subjection. In any case Theebaw would have been reduced from his proud and defiant position by any of the foreign powers if the government of Lord Dufferin had not become alive in time to arrest the course of such an unseemly contingency. Theebaw may be treated as a perfectly independent Prince—more independent than the Nizam or the Maharaja of Cashmere—but it would be worse than a crime to apply to him an abstract policy of this sort, he being an incapable ruler and unable to entertain any serious notion as to his obligations towards his own neighbour.

So far we have ventured to point out the untenableness of the argument employed by so many of the native journals in India, who have bitterly condemned Lord Dufferin's expedition against Mandalay. But we have pointed out already where the Secretary of State's policy, in perfect unison with that of the Viceroy, could be moderated and rendered thoroughly humane. Upper Burmah cannot, under any known circumstances, be entirely converted into a British Province proper. They could no more do so than they could in respect of Afghanistan, if it defected. Our Government are bound to place a minor from the most eligible Burmese dynasties,

or construct such an administration with a grown-up Burmese prince which could effectually, and for all times to come, vest in us absolute control over its foreign relations and its substantial integrity to always serve the interests of this great Eastern Empire. The affairs of that Kingdom should be managed in a manner which would lead to the universal gratification of the Buddhist people, and as much according to their patriotic genius as may be consistent with the large interests of the many in that country. A high-minded President, with full and active powers and assisted by an able native staff, could direct the affairs at Mandalay with a sure prospect of reaping the blessings of both the commoners and the nobility of that State. An unselfish, searching and vigorous policy of this sort will inspire rare cordiality and confidence in the outlying Siamese States; and the mighty power beyond which already watches our action with friendly and even anxious interest. It is imperative that our powerful Government should not miss for a moment the urgency of the high policy we have ventured to lay before the Indian and the Home Authorities. An opportunity like the present is rare when we can generate the most honourable feelings for ourselves in foreign Powers, whose confidence and esteem will be worth thousands of battalions to us at a time when, Heaven forbid, Great Britain and its dependencies may be overtaken in a large calamity.

It would appear from the arguments already produced that we have considered the question of the annexation, or the protectorate of Upper Burmah as influenced by comprehensive rules of international politics. Basing our observations on these rules, we have inferred that absolute annexation of that country by the British Government is not possible, except under one condition, that there is an absolute impossibility of procuring any legitimate ruler as substitute for Theebaw, supposing he has not yet unconditionally surrendered, or that the Buddhist Kingdom is so hopelessly involved in the meshes of foreign intrigues that our Government may incur perpetual danger of finding foreign menaces endangering the peace of the Empire. Our territories border on Theebaw's quite closely as with any of the feudatory States of India; whereas the possessions of the French are several hundreds of miles apart from Upper Burmah. The British have been more than once provoked to advance against Mandalay owing to its close proximity, but there is no other foreign power which has ever been compelled to act thus. We have not concealed from ourselves that the present is a splendid opportunity

when both Lord Randolph and Earl Dufferin may exercise a far-sighted and a large-minded faith in dealing with a foreign territory; and we have not the least reason to doubt that if Theebaw elects to overthrow himself, that this will be the statesman-like policy which they may eventually adopt.

We ought not to have the least compunction in assuming the military administration of the kingdom ourselves, while we did our best to utilize every possible man and resources of the Burmese. It is a blunder of the first magnitude to be averse to organizing the strength of a foreign kingdom—which we foolishly did in the case of Afghanistan—and allow an infinitely larger and more important empire to be disgracefully bullied by great powers when they choose to be aggressive and arrogant under the pretence of correcting, or conquering petty kingdoms. If Theebaw does not submit in the way we want, if we could not hold the kingdom tight enough with him as a modified ruler, his deposition ought to result in the securement of the most eligible Burmese prince, or a nobleman; while we made perfectly sure that the resources of that kingdom are fully utilized in founding a military strength therein, *proportionate to its ability*. The other reforms would necessarily follow the reorganization of its present wretched military administration, and yet an Eastern dynasty will flourish and point out to a near era of contentment and prosperity, which will be as satisfactory to itself as to the needs of the Indian peninsula. Our intervention, then, as guided by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, is likely to be as faultless, as it may prove both vigorous and beneficent. We hope not to appear too sanguine, that a brighter star now shines over the country of the Golden Throne; that there is a near possibility of our holding a close and friendly commercial intercourse with it; carrying with us the universal approval, admiration and esteem of the Burmese, at the same time that our country suffers not from any noteable drain caused by the eccentric sins and dangerous vacillations of another country. As yet we have no reason to believe that either of the two Lords has declared, or exerted, a public policy which invites anything but the hearty commendation and full confidence of the country. It is a policy which must eventually appear the only moral and sound policy that can be pursued under the peculiar conditions we have here somewhat closely examined.—*22nd November*, 1885.

My contemporary of the Calcutta *Statesman* has recently revealed a story about the doings of the deposed Burmese Prince, which, if true, ought to send a thrill of indignation throughout Native India. I wrote the last two articles on the British dealings with Theebaw and his dominions, not being fully aware of his character and acts for the period he reigned in Upper Burmah.

The Crimes and Deportation of Theebaw: How the Burmese Kingdom should be restored.

My native contemporaries should lose no time in acquainting themselves with the horrible barbarities alleged as having been perpetrated by the prisoner-king. We, therefore, give below in our own brief words Theebaw's acts of barbarity as narrated by my contemporary :—

(1) As soon as he was made to understand that the British Government were weakened by certain defeats, he massacred 80 of his relatives and an indefinite number of their friends and dependents.

(2) The aged Governor of Rangoon, then retired, was charged with gunpowder and exploded.

(3) Theebaw allowed Hpoung Woon to practise the vilest atrocities upon women and children and torture them to death in his own presence.

(4) Theebaw's persistent contempt and insolence towards the British Residents ended in the death of one Resident and the withdrawal of the others, rendering the suspension of the British Residency inevitable.

(5) Theebaw used to go out in the city with an ancient spear with which he speared all whom he disliked, including his own highest officials.

(6) When Mandalay was infected with smallpox, Theebaw caused 200 persons of all ages and both sexes to be buried alive beneath the city walls.

(7) When Myoung Oke committed a raid on British Burmah, while Theebaw threatened to attack India and plunge the British into the neighbouring sea, and while the said Oke was captured by the Rangoon police, Theebaw ordered other massacres.

(8) He further proceeded with his insolent policy towards the British Government by deputing very inferior persons as embassies to the Viceroys.

(9) He, moreover, despatched an embassy to Paris openly, *via* Calcutta, to treat with the Republican Government with a view to defy our own Government.

(10) His last great massacre was perpetrated in September 1884, in which 300 persons were butchered, or burnt alive, in which it is suspected that there were also British subjects.

(11) He absolutely refused to hand over the criminals who sought refuge in Upper Burmah, and among them have been numerous dacoits who have defied the Rangoon Government and been the means of perpetuating anarchy in British Burmah.

(12) With the express object of ruining the Bombay and Burmah Trading Company, many of whose shareholders are natives of India, Theebaw imposed on the Company an unheard-of fine of 25 lacs, while farming his customs to a set of French *concessionaires* who were giving effect to his intrigues with the French Government, and supplying him with arms to be used against the British Government.

It now behoves the Native Press to ventilate far and wide the information which I have put in concise form as above, with a view to discover if the counts brought against Theebaw, are so far exaggerated that the rationality of the British expedition, as we have understood it, can be effectually shaken.

If nothing is forthcoming to impugn the truth of even a few of the more serious accusations against the imprisoned King, then the Native Press should combine in admitting without delay, that the prompt and vigorous action adopted by Lords Randolph and Dufferin was divinely inspired, and will ever be remembered in the annals of the East as deserving the eternal gratitude of many millions of our fellow-subjects living beyond the precincts of the Right Arm of India.

No patriotic nor political principle of Native India can question the propriety of the British action without covering the objectors with shame, should even half the sins charged against Theebaw be true; and I fear further investigations may uphold the allegations made by the *Statesman* to be true in the main.

It would be most barbarous and unhumane on the part of Native India should they admit the right of an immediate, though an independent and foreign, power to practise insane and horrible cruelties upon his subjects lying at his mercy. Take the instance of a much greater power: China. Supposing such cruelties were practised there, British intervention would simply be impossible, because of the great strength of that Power which we could not subdue in the ends of humanity without inflicting upon ourselves great and unhumane losses. *If we, therefore, can give the benefits of* civilization cheaply to any small neighbour, with whom we may not expect to be engaged in a disproportionate carnage of human lives, we shall in every way be justified in taking that step to ensure the literal safety of our fellow-creatures.

If India, then, has been instrumental in securing the safety of lives and *property to the Burmese proper, the natives of India have only to express* unfeigned satisfaction for the solid blessings which their Government have conferred upon the helpless Burmese.

If India, again, has been instrumental in quietly getting rid of a monster-tyrant, and a cowardly, insane villain, it has reasons to thank its stars. For, we must bear in mind that, however weak he was, had he not been deported, he should have created various entanglements for [illegible]

of the foreign powers would have gradually acquired new positions in our immediate neighbourhood, and India's political complications would have increased, a new and very inconvenient factor being added to our calculations relating to India's safety, in reference to foreign dangers. The best inclined of England's Rivals would not mind acquiring any fresh element to neutralize the influences of England working adversely to them, in this or that quarter, and on some occasion or another. While we have to fight hard, diplomatically, with cultured England to secure the numerous rights and privileges denied us, it is our first duty to exult in any action by which foreign powers may be foiled in their efforts to weaken the British Government in India.

Basing our observations on the presumed truth of the charges brought by the Calcutta *Statesman* against the Ex-Burmese Prince, my countrymen must feel rejoiced, that one near danger has been removed, and that a tyrant, whose name we cannot suffer to put along with those of the native princes of India, has been erased from the list of Oriental Royalty.

We may now earnestly desire that the Home and the Indian Governments may lose no time in laying before the public of India a full history of the character and misdeeds of Theebaw. It must be authoritatively explained if the allegations made in the *Statesman* are correct or not. But we need something more. Now, that we have occupied the country, the full statement of facts in regard to the manner in which Theebaw ruled and the reasons which led to the expedition may be published in a full and unreserved manner without delay.

One of our first duties will be to provide full compensation to the surviving relatives of those barbarously murdered by Theebaw without full and due provocations. The most illustrious, at the same time the most innocent, of them may be sedulously sought out. If the facts be as they are narrated, we are entitled to conclude that it is not the pecuniary injury inflicted upon the trading countries, but the blood of the helpless and the innocent, as mentioned above, that has brought about a happy revolution at Mandalay, freed as it now is from the vile grip of Theebaw. I submit, then, that the memory of the most illustrious and the most innocent of the butchered should be perpetuated in their native country. The names of the reformers of States in Europe, who caused beneficent revolutions, have ever been revered, while during their lifetime their weighty devotion to duty and single-minded labors have been rewarded by ungrudg-

ing conferment of the highest honors and offices in the States, the reconstruction of which they may have initiated and helped on. The sufferings of the Burmese, as presumed by us, excite greater sympathies and concern, and we are strongly induced to suggest that the more prominent of the noble and humanizing institutions which may be introduced in the newly conquered Kingdom should be named after the persons under notice—the spilling of whose blood has brought about the present revolution there. This is one of the most disinterested ways by which the justification of our presence there will ever be considered. The very facts that that splendid little kingdom hitherto groaned under the heels of a vile and horrible tyrant, and that he has been thrown out in consequence of his own acts, point out the necessity not of effacing the Burmese Kingdom, but restoring it to its normal constitution. We need not doubt for a moment that both the Home and the Indian authorities are prepared to revise the native Kingdom of Burmah under the stern but friendly conditions explained in my previous notes, such as would secure to our Government all the rights and freedom which they could enjoy without any misgiving. The British element may, in certain essential respects, supervene the Burmese, but the obliteration of the latter cannot be effected without the violation of the natural laws of kingdoms and realms.

It will, further, be the duty of the Native Press to see that, in case the crimes alleged against Theebaw and his family are generally confirmed, the Burmese Kingdom should not be charged with any allowances which may be out of all proportion as viewed in relation to the havoc he practised while in charge of that kingdom. The very minimum consideration only can be paid to the Ex-King; while it would be a sinful mockery and a revolting charge upon the Burmese Kingdom to treat him liberally. His life in retirement will be comparatively blessed and should not be specially indulged if he has directly and intentionally practised the dreadful and insane crimes imputed to him.—*13th December*, 1885.

The Secretary of State on Burmah.

THE procedure adopted by the British Government in seeking the rectification of the mismanaged kingdom of Theebaw brings into prominence the solidity and wisdom, or otherwise, of the policies advocated by the political parties in England, and of Lords Churchill and Dufferin in

particular, who are the immediate executives of the national will variously expressed on the subject.

While public opinion in the matter is somewhat divided, and, in some ways, sharply too, all we know is that one set of opinion is for not annexing Upper Burmah, and the other for annexing it wholesale.

We may congratulate the two Noble Lords that the policy they have expressed as partly carried out and partly remaining to be, adopts neither of these two sharply defined extremes. We lately read how very carefully, cautiously, and comprehensively did the Viceroy of India explain the basis he observed in bringing about the general and individual good as in relation with the active intervention which the British Government has been called upon to exercise in the affairs of the deposed Golden-footed Monarch.

A rather full declaration of the government policy comes in time from the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India. Lord Randolph, it seems, has been put on his trial on the present question by the severe declamation employed against the war waged in Burmah and the incident of India's direct interposition there. And the manner in which he has stood the test invites attention owing to the sharp difference existing between him and the opposite distinguished advocates of the non-intervention policy. Highly humane as the policy illustrated by the famous popular Orator and Reformer is, we may accept his conclusion, if we can believe in some such dictum that medical measures are not required in the world, and that no human diseases exist in it. It is probably Lord Ripon who maintains it as dangerous to Imperial interests, should the government of Lord Salisbury fail in restoring the native government at Burmah without all the checks which the present government are probably thinking of. Lord Ripon has hit upon a safer policy than that enunciated by Messrs. Bright and Chamberlain on the one hand, and Mr. Archibald R. Colquhoun and the London Provincial Press on the other. But even in the late Viceroy's delineation of what the working policy should be, we find certain omissions which require to be filled if at all necessary—as we should think it is—that the qualities of both the heart and the head should, respectively, be well-balanced. Nine-tenths of a political and social untouch are due to the inexact balance of these two influences which are apt so speedily to creep into the affairs of mankind.

We should be interested to know if the young and promising nobleman, who now *wields our destinies*, has not been tempted into the delusive arena of any such untouch, and we have always avoided following a foregone conclusion when called upon to look into the policy of our rulers on any vital matter.

Lord Randolph tersely puts the theory of "Imperial Dominion" and "Commercial Supremacy":—

"The fact of the matter is that empire and trade are inseparable. Imperial Dominion and Commercial Supremacy cannot be divorced one from the other. It was the Imperial Dominion that made your Commercial Supremacy, and it was your Commercial Supremacy which made your Imperial Dominion. They act reciprocally on each other, and if you neglect your Imperial Dominion you will, undoubtedly, lose your Commercial Supremacy."

The Secretary of State has stated in so many terms the pith of the history of the British people with India. A child's predominant desire for everything which is sweet is not so markedly kept up in its advanced age; at the same time the child built up with sugar cannot afford to be in fell exhaustion of it even in its most advanced period of life. Lord Randolph probably conceals this sanctified truth in his direct and epigrammatic challenger.

His Lordship describes the last straw which broke the camel's back:—

What are the nature and cause of the Burmah war? A large Company, in which is invested a large amount of British capital, employing something like from 20,000 to 25,000 persons in its operations, was carrying on in Burmah, under treaty, the development of the Burmese forests, and was exporting from Burmah to England and elsewhere teakwood, one of the most valuable woods, particularly in ship-building. That Company had been carrying on business for many years. They had a lease of these forests from the King, and paid their rent to the King with punctuality: More than that, they had, from time to time, advanced money to the King. The English Government had a treaty with the King of Burmah which provided, among other things, that in any dispute between any English Company and the King, the dispute should be tried by a mixed Court, and not a native Court of the King of Burmah. On a most frivolous pretext, the King imposed on this Company a fine amounting to a quarter of a million of money, and the dispute is tried in a native Court. You may imagine what sort of a Court of justice that would be. The Company has judgment pronounced against it, and the King proceeds to cancel the leases which he himself had given to the Company, and under which they had for many years been working. Well that was a little more than we could quite stand. We had stood a good deal from the "King of Burmah."

Lord Randolph, we should think, has put the cause of the Burmese War in that strong light which every one desiring to condemn it, might well show up as favouring his own idea. From many points of view in England, this plea will, undoubtedly, appeal to that se of British

prestige which has won for Her Most Gracious Majesty the eastern diadem. The plea will, however, not have the same attractions in India but even here the opinion on it will be divided. A large majority might roughly say, that such a powerful nation as the British *Sircar* is not expected to tolerate a small king who has done and said mad things against it. And this single idea would be enough to them. Those of us who follow in the wake of a more wide-awake sense of intermutual—we cannot in this instance well say international—relations, would naturally exclaim that we have no business to carry on a war with an independent neighbour, because he prefers to undo a private trading Company who have accepted the risks of trade in a foreign country. But what shall we say as to the authoritative version now before us of the express violation of the treaty which the king of Burmah entered into with the Indian Government? Had this violation of British treaty rights been the only ground of our complaint, we should certainly not be justified in permanently deposing Theebaw, provided that he made ample reparation. We would particularly beg to invite due attention to this argument, *if* all other arguments that could be brought forward against the Ex-Ruler can possibly be subordinated to this one.

But Lord Randolph's indictment against Theebaw, it seems, covers a more serious and wider ground :—

"We had tolerated disorder on our frontiers, arising from his misgovernment, which had arrested the development of our own province; we had tolerated an amount of savagery, barbarity and cruelty, which really it is a question whether a civilized nation ought to have tolerated; we tolerated for years an amount of rudeness and insult towards ourselves hardly paralleled in all the history of our Asiatic relations; but when it came to wholesale, gratuitous, unjust plunder of British subjects acting in accordance with their treaty rights, then Lord Salisbury's Government thought it was time to interfere."

And thus the Secretary of State makes out that the ill-treatment of the Bombay and Burmah Trading Company was the last reed which put out the British Lion. With the authoritative statements before us, in the light of which Earl of Dufferin appears to have shaped his policy, we might admit that the war lately undertaken was perfectly justifiable, the more so as the course and end of it have been most gratifying, and its prompt and bloodless success is peculiarly agreeable to persons of every shade of creed and opinion. Hereafter, if ever a war becomes emergent and painfully inevitable, let even the meek cows of Hindustan pray that it may come and go like the Salisbury-Randolph-Dufferin War.

As to the deposition of Theebaw, we must take it to be conditionally justifiable. The well-being and safety of his own country needed it, and the future peace of India also required it. It would have been unfair to have expected better things of him. But whether he was a conscious or an unconscious criminal—he himself strongly protests that he is the latter—the anarchy and the barbarities which were bred under his government, and affected British Burmah, and also affected the honour of our Rulers, have unavoidably disturbed his sleeping neighbouring giant. In the interests of our good name and prosperity, however, we may be allowed to state that it is an imperative duty to inquire minutely into the assertions made by Theebaw of his innocence, and ascertain for ourselves if they could be treated with that complete mistrust, an illustration of which is interestingly supplied this week by that astute politician of Madras, Sir T. Madhowrao, K.C.S.I., in the brief page quoted by him from the old history of Travancore in the Madras *Times*. Though only the slenderest hope may exist as to Theebaw's restoration to some limited authority as a ruler, the accusations against him after being fully formulated, if found in the main to be sufficiently weak, ought to help him to be kept in an honorable style as the retired and respected feudatory of the Queen.

The concluding arguments of the Secretary of State runs like a placid, deep-running stream :—

Now I should like to ask the gentleman who cried "Quite right," when I said that Mr. Bright condemned the Burmese war, what policy would you, under such circumstances, have pursued ; would you have allowed a British trading industry to be brought to an end, and to be plundered? (Cries of "No.") Do you think such a policy would have protected the general interests of British trade, or have been likely to cause British trade to revive or to flourish? ("No.") Because if you allowed a ridiculous person like the King of Burmah to plunder your subjects and to persecute them, perhaps to murder them, and generally to pursue an unjust, hostile, and aggressive attitude against your trade interests, if you allowed that to go on with impunity, and took no notice of it, what do you think would be the conduct of the Powers more powerful? When they see that you cannot protect your trading interests against the King of Burmah, they will say to themselves, "Why, surely, they cannot protect their trading interests against us who are so much more powerful." If we were, to pursue such a policy as was indicated by those who opposed the Burmese expedition, it would cause the trade of this country to dwindle and diminish and capital to fly to foreign flags which could give it that protection which it absolutely required. This argument, he said, was no speculation on his part ; it was verified by the experience of the past six years, during which the promises and the hopes held out by the Liberal leaders, had failed to be fulfilled.

then held the Government, we may be sure of an immediate boundary country like Afghanistan being annexed to the Queen's dominions and administered by her authorities during her pleasure.

We are not going to view the annexation of the Mandalay territories on the basis of any foregone conclusion as most of our native contemporaries have done. We shall deal with this the latest resolve of the British Government on its own intrinsic merits, being conscious that we should not arrive at a righteous judgment otherwise. There is some gleam of hope that the present absolute policy may be modified hereafter reading between the lines of the Viceroy's *fiat:* the said dominions "will, during Her Majesty's pleasure, be administered by such officers as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India may from time to time appoint." A probable future change of policy, we think, only refers to the officers through whom the country is to be administered, the territories of King Theebaw "formerly" governed by him "having become part of Her Majesty's dominions." The general inference from the wording of the Proclamation would be that the officers who may now be appointed would be selected by the Viceroy, and that all the principal ones will be furnished from the Indian services. It will be so, however, during Her Majesty's pleasure only. If it be found safe in future to change the Viceregal policy, and admit responsible Burmese officials proper, that change may be effected.

The annexation of Burmah will deal one salutary lesson to all the border chiefs whom we should name as the gatesmen of the Indian Empire. They will learn, as no other lesson could teach them, that this vast Empire, as now being built, will not be permitted to be disturbed by chaos, intrigues and stupidity on its various borders on which the dark shadows of the ever-advancing giant rival powers are being fast settled. The Afghan uncertainties have cost us much precious blood and money without the most adequate return being secured to India; and it is high time we all admitted that to reconcile the mere theory of the right of the troublesome and weak corrupt, we should not advocate a policy which must ultimately threaten the very vitals of the main and growing Empire of the East. The powers coming ahead muster stronger brute forces as they advance. It becomes an absolute necessity to the British Government, then, to gather the forces in the interests of our own country, which would otherwise slip out of our hands. The border Native States, if they are not under the complete subjugation of India—for they are very small

things—can, in course of time, become a source of formidable mischief to India. The fate of Burmah ought to teach every one of them that it would not be justifiable in the eyes of God if any of them were ever to play in the hands of a rival power, or permit their kingdoms to be a scene of violence and bloodshed.

What our dear native publicists have lost sight of is the fact of the British Government having done the wisest thing in establishing a continuity with our Sister-Empire of China. That immense country of greater resources than our own country must rapidly advance in all the arts of Peace, Civilization and War. It is a matter of imperative necessity that India should take hold of the very first opportunity to join her fortunes with those of China. If we only know the art of preserving permanent peace and friendship with China, we shall not rest under the fear of any external attacks—and these may be expected from Russia, France and other great Powers who are all pushing on with our frontiers. We should not be guilty of holding the narrow view, that the annexation has been carried out simply with a view to advance the British trading interests and with an eye upon what would take with the British electors. We do not doubt that these are the objects which have influenced the Government of Lord Salisbury, but there are far more serious objects underlying his Lordship's resolution. The spirit of the Secretary of State in the matter seems to us to have been straight and incisive. If a half measure would be undertaken, so many difficulties would arise in the times of profound peace, when an over-generous Government in England would concede complete independence to a native king that may now be set up. Among further difficulties, that of consummating a perfect military constitution on our eastern boundary would be the most noted one. The resuscitation of the Burmese dynasty at this moment would, no doubt, interfere with a complete and safe reconstruction of that border State. Both Lord Randolph and Lord Dufferin must be anxious to complete our future protection on the side of Calcutta, by leaving no groundwork for the subversion of our Imperial integrity, or a flaw that would introduce hereafter a dangerous element in our international relations with China. This spirited foreign policy only emphasises in the most emphatic manner Mr. Gladstone's Afghan policy which aimed at the complete subjugation of the Afghan kingdom as far as its foreign relations were concerned. Both a railway

and telegraphic communication can now be established between India and China without any extraordinary difficulties to encounter, and to the extreme benefit of industrial, mercantile and literary India. By a splendid stroke of an unwavering Imperial policy the interests of the manufacturers and labourers of England have been substantially secured on an almost illimited scale ; and if we can admit that Mr. Chamberlain's bait to the labouring electors of Great Britain smacks of the spoliation of other people's rights, Lord Salisbury's India-Burmah-China boon is not likely to be carped at so much as the Chamberlain-Dilke elysium for England. If the case were otherwise, we should fairly expect the Liberal party to raise a vigorous war-cry ; and if such a war-cry were universally taken up in England, the defeat of the Conservatives would be most marked though backed by the Parnellites. Though annexation has been straightway proclaimed, we do not find the Liberals turning out to protest against it, as their aims are likely to incite them to do so. Here is a little example of how are we expected to fare under the best parties which generally identify themselves with the war-cries of the moment. If the annexation of Burmah is an act of gross spoliation, the platforms of England ought by this time to resound with the indignation of its main population ; but we have noticed nothing of the sort.

However much we value the blessings of the present direct British stroke of action in the Burmese Kingdom—blessings which will ever be held in real value by the Burmese people as well as India itself—we should not forget to insist upon the observance of the sacred obligation which both the people of India and England owe to the hereditary monarchy and nobility of Burmah. Our native contemporaries attempt too much when they denounce the war with Upper Burmah and the effective intervention of a superior Power in organizing that little Kingdom. The Viceroy was quite right when his Lordship said in the Council the other day : "The "special facts in this case were not known to the Native Press. His "Government had made an honest and serious endeavour to reach an "amicable settlement, but its efforts had been frustrated by the persistent "attitude of injustice and violence persevered in by Theebaw." The Earl further declared his views in regard to the present and future of Burmah :—

"Once the conquest of a country was effected, it was necessary to determinately declare its international status. This was done by a proclamation on the 1st of January, under which the

authority of the Viceroy was substituted for that of the late King. This, however, was arrangement required by the actual circumstances of the moment and will be eventually repl by more elaborate machinery, the nature of which will, in all probability, not be determi until he had himself visited Mandalay and was in a position to submit a report on the condi of the country to the British Government."

The people will, no doubt, be anxious to know at the earliest possil moment what is to be the permanent administrative organization Burmah. Since the Earl would be on the spot himself, we have hop that the annexation-policy, in its actual and permanent effects, will n be so harsh and extreme as we might for a moment apprehend it to b May we hope that the annexation, as now planned, may not after all b anything much worse than the thirty years' suspension of the sovereignt of Mysore? With the present progress of the age, we may expect Uppe Burmah to be more unselfishly and more equitably managed than th former kingdom was. When the Burmese kingdom is consolidated int a perfectly safe bulwark on our eastern side, the revival of a feudator prince from among the princely and noble families of Burmah ma probably count upon the cordial support of India and England. In th course of the next one or two decades, there might spring up an enlight ened, able and loyal nobility deserving of the inherent sovereign rights o its country being restored to it under conditions which may not give ris to a moment's doubt as to its thorough loyalty and dignified subservienc to the Imperial interests of India. The public in general would immensel value an indication of this sort being given by the Viceroy of India which will serve to inspire respect in the political parties of all creeds and shades. Let it not be said that the present Government with thei singular directness and firmness is a stranger to those instincts whicl more perfectly comprehend the most disinterested justice and humanity capable of being brought forward. The three Lords who now preside over our destinies are such accomplished statesmen that it would be superfluous on our part to do anything more than hint at that aspect of the whole question which can best be indicated at the present moment.

It is most commendable on the part of the Viceroy to propose visiting Burmah with a view to arrange for its full administration. The immense advantages of a personal treatment of the question of this sort cannot be denied, and we only hope that every consideration of personal safety may be fully entertained before the step in question is taken. The dominion

is newly conquered, where it must be extremely hazardous for highly responsible statesmen to go with unhampered confidence. It must be remembered that the Earl of Dufferin is personally associated in the public mind with the annexation of that semi-savage country. The later declaration of his policy cannot by any means be gratifying to those who may *fancy themselves to be wronged, or whose occupation consists in rapine* and plunder. However urgent we feel the task undertaken by the Viceroy to be, the public cannot altogether ignore the probable danger to which the life of their illustrious Ruler may perhaps be subject to in visiting the country so early. We do not doubt that His Excellency's responsible advisers must have placed the matter beyond the remotest apprehension of anything unwelcome before the resolve was made. At least we have here endeavoured to place the *question of the Viceregal visit*, in its most important aspect, in some welcome, and perhaps yet hardly fully thought-of, relief.—*17th January*, 1886.

The Viceroy's Speech at Mandalay.

FOLLOWING is the speech made by Earl Dufferin at Mandalay while introducing a civilized administration in that unfortunate country :—

"*Sir Frederick Roberts and Gentlemen,—As this is the first time that I have found myself in* the presence of the Commander and the chief officers of the army serving in the field in Upper *Burmah*, I *desire to take the opportunity of proposing to you the health of Sir Harry Prendergast* and of all those, both officers and men, British and Native, who have served under him during the recent successful campaign; and with this toast I wish to couple the names *of the officers* and men of the Naval Brigade, as well as of the officers and men of the Burmese Volunteer Corps. It is needless for me to repeat what is known to all, that the invasion of Upper Burmah was undertaken with regret by the Indian Government. We had no quarrel with its inhabitants, and the prospect of its conquest, whatever might be ultimate advantage, was certain to be fraught with immediate expense, anxiety, and embarrassments. On the other hand, the existing relations between ourselves and the Burmese Court had become intolerable, inasmuch as they were fast tending to jeopardize the security and the most vital interests of our own territories. We, therefore, chose the lesser of two evils, and determined to put an end to the disastrous rule of a *prince who was a curse to his own subjects and an impossible neighbor. But in directing* General Prendergast to advance upon Mandalay, the Government of India reminded him that it would be his duty to come as little as possible into collision with the people of the country, who are kindred in blood, in religion, and in all their material interests with our own subjects in Lower Burmah. How admirably General Prendergast and those serving with him have executed their task, it is impossible to over-rate. By rapidity of movement, by [illegible] energy, by the exercise of a humane forbearance and the assumption, where it was possible, of a most conciliatory attitude, General Prendergast succeeded, with comparatively [illegible]

and, what was equally desirable, with the infliction of a minimum of punishment upon those who were opposed to us in occupying Mandalay, in capturing its King, and in taking possession of the country; and believe me, gentlemen, that to have led a British army into the enemy's capital in such a manner was, under the circumstances, far more creditable to him and to those associated with him than would have been a costly victory, however glorious, on a fiercely contested field of battle. Nor will his countrymen fail to appreciate the sense of duty which has enabled him and his army to win their stainless laurels. The annals of continual warfares show how a ruthless general may wilfully trace his name in letters of blood on the pages of history. General Prendergast has chosen a better part, and as a consequence he has enabled me to ascend the river, to pass along the streets of this town, and to enter this palace amidst the ranks of a smiling, trustful, and reconciled population. Again, it is the quality of success to conceal from public notice the many chances of failure which have beset on all sides the enterprise which it has crowned. But those who may hereafter study the nature of our recent operations will not fail to appreciate what disastrous consequences might have ensued had slackness, or independence, on the one hand, or recklessness, on the other, directed the movements of our troops. In the name, then, of his Queen and country, and in the name of the Government of India, I beg to tender to Sir Harry Prendergast, his officers, and his men, of the three services, my warmest thanks; and in doing so, I would desire to extend my expression of gratitude to all those civil officers who so ably seconded his endeavours, to the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Bernard, and to Colonel Sladen, to whose courage and knowledge of the people and of the language we are so much indebted for the surrender of the King, as well as to their various assistants. This, however, is neither the time nor the occasion for me to particularise individuals. In due course, official reports of all the recent occurrences will be forwarded to the Government, who will then have an opportunity of bringing to the notice of their Sovereign the names of those who may have specially distinguished themselves. Gentlemen, it only remains for me to hope that the work of pacification will continue under the auspices of the same success as has crowned our military efforts. For some time, indeed, they will still need the support and assistance of the army, who have already shown with what patience and energy they can discharge the peculiarly harassing duties imposed upon them. In the mean time, however, there is one announcement I am authorised to make, which, I hope, will not be received with displeasure at this table, namely, that Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, with the advice of her Ministers, has been pleased to grant a gratuity of Rs. 3,00,000 to the field force serving in Upper Burmah. Their labours have now been increased by the necessity of suppressing dacoity, which is far more disastrous to regular troops than the hardships of open warfare. We were well aware, however, from previous experience that it might take a considerable time, even after the constituted authorities of the country had made their submission before absolute tranquillity would be restored. It took two years before Lower Burmah settled down after the conquest of Pegu. As we all know, from time immemorial, dacoity has been the traditional weakness of the Burmese people. Unfortunately, under the weak and defective rule of King Theebaw, gang robberies and dacoity became rife from one end of the country to the other, and this unhappy state of things has, of course, been still further stimulated by the disbandment of his army, and the confusion and disturbance in men's minds which war and a sudden change of Government were certain to entail. But I am glad to learn

on all hands that district after district under the supervision of our British officers is being reclaimed from the reign of terror by which it was dominated. Above all things, I rejoice to see there is not the slightest sign of anything approaching to a partizan warfare against ourselves, and that whenever a collision takes place between our troops and any native combatants, it is not that the English posts have been attacked, but that our soldiers have succeeded in overtaking various bands of marauders acting without concert, who have been burning and pillaging harmless and unprotected villages. These excesses, the Government of Her Majesty has determined, shall be terminated at every risk and cost. With this view and in order to give full effect to the proclamation issued on the 1st of January, by which Upper Burmah was declared to be for ever annexed to the British Empire, the country will be at once placed under the supreme and direct administrative control of British officers, whose experience and energy will enable them, I trust, to repair in a few years the loss and injury entailed upon it by the misgovernment of its former rulers, to restore security to life and property, and to raise it to the same high level of individual comfort and commercial prosperity as is enjoyed by the inhabitants of Lower Burmah under an analogous regime, though some months, or perhaps years, may elapse before we have seen the realisation of all our hopes. I have no doubt that ere a decade has passed we shall be able to reckon the inhabitants of Upper Burmah amongst the most prosperous and contented of Her Majesty's subjects, and when the pen of history shall eventually trace the causes and the results of the conquest of Burmah the great services which Sir Harry Prendergast and his gallant companions-in-arms have rendered their Queen and country at the most momentous period of the recent crisis will be honorably recorded."—*28th February*, 1886.

Earl Dufferin's Conquest of Upper Burmah.

The Viceroy has befittingly consummated his rapid and bloodless conquest of Upper Burmah by his personal visit to Mandalay. His visit has been as short, agreeable and [illegible] the campaign which he caused to be [illegible] the Lord of the White Elephant, both now extinct as [illegible] Burmese sovereignty. Whatever that it is possible to [illegible] propriety of a permanent absorption of that [illegible] Empress' eastern possessions, the good fortune [illegible] efforts of Lord Dufferin in securing a [illegible] the good Queen will always shine on [illegible] as an acquisition resulting from the [illegible] nation.

His Lordship's speech at Mandalay [illegible] in the history of the British Eastern [illegible] evil it must always bear an [illegible] to believe that it will invariably [illegible] progress and localized [illegible] Viceroy has taken gra[illegible] ledging to the world [illegible]

is so restricted, but an absolute, State-measure adopted by the B Government. He has had no hesitation in declaring that Theel Kingdom has been annexed for "ever." The Native Press will now c to hope that any chance has been left for the resuscitation of the Burm sovereignty. In a recent very effective speech by Sir Lepel Griffin, wh inaugurating certain essential reforms in the State of the Begum of Bhop under her own auspices, one important misimpression that existed in th public mind generally has been removed: the policy which the frontie kingdom in our East has demanded is not the policy which any of th Native States in India will need or is subject to. This is exactly the view which we took ourselves,—that inasmuch as Upper Burmah lay beyond the precincts of India and formed one of the gatesmen of the Empire that has been peculiarly subject to the intrigues of foreign rivals could not possibly be dealt with as the territories of an Indian feudatory. Sir Lepel gave an apt instance in the restoration of the Kingdom of th Guicwar to one of its own worthy princes when his predecessor provec himself unfit. Of this, much we may rest assured that, however much a native prince may prove unworthy, the British Government will not annex his kingdom, as in the case of Theebaw, but will sincerely endeavour to place it under a rightful and worthier native authority. There is a dash of candour and straightforwardness in the Burmese policy of Lords Randolph and Dufferin which the factional Parliament of Great Britain has unitedly upheld, and which is not likely to create any national protest in India. International relations of the Great Powers of the World are becoming more and more straitened. Coupling this with another apparent fact that Mandalay's administration was a nasty sore on the body-politic of Uppe and Lower Burmah, while all decent relations with India were treated by Theebaw with contemptuous disregard, the Indian Viceroy found sufficient reason to prevent all future trouble and complications by promptly identifying himself with wholesale annexation. There is no doubt that his thorough strike at that kingdom has secured two most impor- objects. The end of the British Imperial policy has been ermanently secured, while India has been permanently freed from a gnificant menace on its Eastern side. The closest of the parizans ongst us have to bear these two objects in mind. Whether there uld be any chance of the Burmese sovereignty being restored in any ant future will all depend on the external and internal condi...

British Empire and the eligibility evinced by the future connections of the Burmese monarchy. We cannot, of course, underrate the significance of the very explicit manifesto of the Viceroy, but we may not yet be debarred from the supposition that a remote future is possible, which may witness the resuscitation of a vassal Burmese State, under perfectly modified conditions, and entirely administered by the military resources of the Indian paramount power. This forecast is not inconsistent with the present policy of the Burmese Conqueror who is in a fair way of succeeding in winning the confidence and affection of the Burmese nobility and the people by confiding in them as much details of administration as could be safely entrusted to them at the present moment. Though the country will be filled for the present with Indian troops, a time will come when considerable reductions will have to be made in them and local levies substituted. We might also expect a time when we shall be confident in the native administration of Burmah as much as we are in that of any native kingdom in India. We hope, therefore, to be forgiven for expressing our belief in the future revival of the Burmese kingdom under safe and modified conditions, which would no more affect the peace of the British Empire as any of the kingdoms in Kattywar may be expected to do at this or at any future time.

The Viceroy took deserved credit for himself and his Lieutenants for the remarkable absence of violence and bloodshed in capturing Mandalay. This extremely gratifying feature of the campaign has been greatly instrumental in checking an adverse verdict, which the country would have otherwise passed in no measured terms. As the Viceroy aptly hinted, we know what victorious generals have too often done to inspire terror among hostile and conquered peoples, and such generals have earned everlasting curses. General Prendergast, however, will be placed more among the saviours of an oppressed people than in the ranks of those whose names are dipped in fire and blood never to be forgotten. And yet the General and his immediate assistants have had to show that skill, courage, and intrepidity which would have to be shown in any warlike operations with this difference, however, that massacre on any noted scale was entirely avoided. The Viceroy, of course, regrets that great anarchy still prevail in Upper Burmah, because Theebaw's army has been disbanded, and the only occupation left to the dismissed men is the traditional profession of dacoity which has been one of the general vices of certain parts of the Burmese communities. But that thousands should take to

this course is not quite their fault. As ten thousand of the British troo[illegible] have now occupied that counry, little chance is left to the Burmese peop[illegible] for re-enlistment. No statesman could breathe a more practical benevo[illegible] lence than Earl Dufferin, and it is for his Lordship to devise early measures for the re-employment of the disaffected rabble under such conditions and guarantees as the local wants and difficulties may suggest. It would not do for an administration in these days to walk in the footsteps of our early administration in India, when there were silent and relieving circumstances by which the lot of the millions thrown out of State service was not sharply felt as demanding immediate considera-tion. Some methods of administration ought to be devised by which the dacoits and the rebels may be won over, and thus prevented from causing inconvenient anxieties and a great drain on our resources.

We can hardly see the justification of India being entirely saddled with the expenses of the recent campaign. But there is the Liberal Govern-ment ruling that we should bear the burden. We dissent from this view. The country is totally annexed, not simply in the interests of our peace, but also to remove one cause of anxiety from the course of the Imperial integrity of the British Government. So far Great Britain must bear the cost of the expedition for the relief caused to the Imperial Governmen[illegible] in their possible complications with rival powers. When even taxatio[illegible] in India is enhanced, the burden of the Burmese expenditure should n[illegible] be added to the present financial stress. We are unable to say if th[illegible] Burmese treasury could itself bear the expenditures incurred in bringin[illegible] [illegible] within the pale of our civilization.

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ighest political and administrative object, which nothing else could have cured at the present stage of affairs in that country.—*7th March*, 1886.

Mr. Gladstone and e British Parliament ı the Burmese War.

We should not wonder if the parties concerned in the Burmese War and in the discussion of its merits have more or less been inaccurate in the action and principles which have been adopted or discussed. The action of both the great political parties at home commends itself to ır sympathies in certain respects. More especially the initiation on ıis question by the Government of Lords Randolph and Dufferin is otable for its sincerity and straightforwardness, though we have to ffer in some of the details pertaining to the results attained by that itiation. By a similar process of argument the Government of Mr. 'ladstone must come in for a share of public disapproval which, in this ıstance, is a little more serious since it is not condoned by any favorable ıitiative with which Lord Salisbury has been identified in reforming the rovince of Upper Burmah.

The people of India concerned in politics have been deeply interested ı the complete speech delivered by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Gladstone ı the subject of the annexation of Upper Burmah. There have been ır some time past very few Indian questions indeed which the Grand 'ld Premier has treated so elaborately as the Burmese annexation. He as dealt with it exhaustively, very cleverly, and even magnanimously. /e can even go further and beg the indulgence of the Right Hon'ble ientleman and say that he has delivered himself on this question omewhat as a convert on the ultimate Imperial topic of India. We ıould make good such an assumption by adducing the grounds for it.

It has been contended in many quarters that the war against Theebaw as unjustifiable, because, as one of the grounds advanced in support of ıe view, the prior sanction of Parliament for the act was not obtained. /aging war with a foreign enemy means defraying a large and extra- rdinary expenditure. There is the Law of 1858 laying down in broad pirit that Her Majesty's Government is expected to obtain a Vote of Credit efore any such expenditure is incurred. Practically, however, in almost very instance, no Government in England [illegible] obtai[illegible] the consent f Parliament previous to laying out an ex[illegible] T[illegible] ıe lay understanding of Mr. Gladstone,

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the consent of Parliament was necessary before employing the reven of India in conducting the late war against the Burmese. Our wor Prime Minister puts this point in a sagacious and modest way:—

"Do not let the Hon. and learned Gentleman, the late Attorney-General, suppose that, a construction of a section in that Act, I venture to set up my opinion against his *Cuique in sua credendum.* (Laughter.) It is the very last thing, I think, that any man ought to co- enter into a dispute with distinguished lawyers upon the strictly legal question of the constr tion of a statute. All that I observe is this, that, having been conversant with the moti which dictated the language of that Act, I set out in my ignorant reading of it with assumption, and that is that they had a rational purpose in view. (Laughter.) If I am rig in holding that their meaning was that the revenues of India should not be applicable exc under certain circumstances without the consent of Parliament, and they meant to check application made without that consent, then a certain presumption arises in favour of t belief which I have ignorantly entertained, that the consent of Parliament meant the prior co sent of Parliament."

How is it, then, that the revenues of both India and England a expended on emergent occasions before Parliament has had an opportunit of first sanctioning it? It appears that the Statutes are so worded that nc the closest legal construction put upon them can mean that it is indispen sable that the Government *shall* obtain the sanction of Parliament *befor* laying out an expenditure of the character under discussion. It is simpl provided that the consent of Parliament should be taken, but it is no enjoined when that consent should be taken. According to the law, i may be taken at once, or in any Session of the Parliament, or in an forthcoming Parliament, or, to put it in the very expressive form of th Right Hon'ble Gentleman, "at any time between the time of the disburse ment and the day of judgment!" Mr. Gladstone, of course, means th legitimate *reductio ad absurdum* length of the legal construction of th statute, and he rightly bows, and "implicitly," to the construction pu upon the Law of 1858 by the late Attorney-General. The Righ Hon'ble Gentleman is certainly not disposed to condemn the action of th late Government in incurring the expenses of the war before asking for the parliamentary sanction. It is interesting to note how the veterar statesman accounts for the impracticability of waiting to act upon a Vot of Credit till awarded:—

"I make the admission at once that we never literally complied with the Act; and it is exactl the same case, according to me, as always happens in England. I apprehend that there is nc better understood or established law of England than this, that her Majesty's Government is no entitled to spend money without the consent of Parliament. And yet what happens with regard to every Vote of Credit submitted to this House. Invariably before the House gives the Vote of

Credit, money has been laid out in the expectation of its so giving. That is a practical consideration which arises in this way. The Government never can determine to ask the House for a Vote of Credit until it is certain that it will be wanted. But when it becomes morally certain that the Vote of Credit will be wanted, that when there is a moral certainty that it will be given, it becomes of the utmost importance not to lose a day in making the necessary preparations, and, as a question of common sense and practical utility, undoubtedly there is established in the English case, and also in the Indian case, a deviation from the letter of the law, which notwithstanding, *is perfectly compatible with the strictest observance of the spirit.*"

It may or may not be quite consistent for Mr. Gladstone, while upholding the practical view of the question, to say also that "the matter "in dispute between us will, I hope, be entirely removed in consequence "of the consideration that may be bestowed upon the section in question "by the Committee of Inquiry into the working of the Indian Government "Act." It is a two-edged weapon which the Premier handles. If it be only "common sense and practical utility" to expend money without first *obtaining sanction in black and white, the reference of this point* to the Committee would not only be useless but mischievous too. It is possible, however, the wording of the Law may encourage a not very scrupulous Government to withold a Vote of Credit after some large expenditure has been incurred. It may also be deemed not desirable to place the Law open to any such ridiculous construction as Mr. Gladstone has placed upon it. But would Mr. Gladstone desire to specify the legal period within which the consent of Parliament should be obtained? The hitch in the way of such specific provision would be the possibility of a hostile majority acting against a Government just when they may be committed to the prosecution of an urgent Vote of Credit measure.

Mr. Gladstone's confession that the war against Upper Burmah was justly undertaken has fallen like a thunderbolt on a considerable portion of the Native Press. The war has been denounced by mistake by our native contemporaries as an unholy and cruel war. It has not been possible for us to go quite to this length, and if we find so very difficult and so very great an authority as Mr. Gladstone upholding the war, while in office itself, we may be allowed to take credit for initiating in the public the only righteous view which can be held in the matter, especially as the grounds we assigned for this view have been found identical with those which Mr. Gladstone now collectively puts forward,—which the Right Hon'ble Gentleman might have done before. In the interests of a just discussion, it may be admitted as the Premier puts it, that in the speech which was [illegible] up[illegible] the first

night of the Session, there were sentences and sentiments which appeared to bring in the view of the war being undertaken merely for trade. But we cannot ignore that all the various circumstances which led to the war were even then before the world, and we should feel glad if even the opposition spoke in time in favor of a government measure when it appeared justifiable. After all, the Grand Old Man approves of both the war and the annexation. It is a great pleasure to be informed of his own views on the subject :—

"Were there, on the evidence before us, a presumption that this was a wanton or a needless war, I admit that we should be placed in a position of great difficulty. I will not admit that even in that case it would follow at once that a reversal of the annexation ought to take place. There is a great precedent to which I have referred on former occasions in this House, the precedent of the war and annexation of Sind, which took place under the government of Sir R. Peel. When that war and that annexation were made known, there was not a single man in the Cabinet, from Sir R. Peel himself and the Duke of Wellington down to the youngest member of the Cabinet, myself, who did not heartily disapprove of it, and yet there was not a single man in the Cabinet who thought that any step ought to be taken for the purpose of reversing that annexation. The question is not the original justice of the annexation; it is whether you will do more good or evil by proceeding to reverse it (cheers). That is upon the supposition that this was an unjust annexation, and I am bound to say that, so far as we are able to follow the case, we do not find any proof of the allegation (cheers). We are not responsible for the policy; but it is our duty to judge it fairly."

We must beg leave to point out to the energetic and versatile old Statesman that if he has so well upheld the Burmese War—where the frontier difficulties were not allowed to be so highly aggravated as on the Cabul borders, where again the neighboring Ruler had not waged a war with our Government, any such war as was long carried on by the Rulers of Afghanistan—the Right Hon'ble Gentleman committed the gravest lapse in political and administrative tactics in condemning the expedition against Shere Ali and the occupation of Candahar, and lastly in carrying out its evacuation and abandoning the frontier railway and protective works. We are not surprised, therefore, that Lord Randolph Churchill, in the v... interesting account he gave us the other day of his, indeed, successful ... as Secretary of State for India, should have used very strong language against the subversive action of the Liberal Administration on the Russo-Afghan question. As we stated before we may state now, that Lord Ripon was not entirely accountable for the mistaken policy which, before being pursued, we were the first to bring emphatically to the notice of ... has shown such generous instincts towards

India. It would, however, grieve us if it were for one moment assumed that we desire to lay the least disagreeable emphasis on the change of convictions which has come upon Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party in general. No empire should be allowed to be weakened in respect of its foreign and internal stability, and, as we held at the very outset, our frontiers on the East were on the point of entering the unwelcome phase of foreign complications and neighborly insolence and ruffianism, when Lords Dufferin and Churchill promptly nipped those dangers in the bud. There were only two alternatives—either that Mandalay should be the seat of a foreign rival power descending upon it from an immense distance ; or that as one of the Gatesmen of the Indian Empire we should render this immediate neighbor one of our own Feudatories.

Mr. Gladstone's complete and even enthusiastic defence of the late Government's policy of the annexation of Upper Burmah must be noted with deep concern by native India. We may not quite uphold this remarkable change of sentiments and tactics in the Right Hon'ble Gentleman except in the direction that he has fully recognized the essentiality of a precautionary and vigilant policy in respect of the foreign, and for the matter of that, the internal security of India. He adduces, however, the truest and the strongest reasons which rendered the present annexation of Burmah inevitable, and in these the natives of India may cordially, unreservedly agree with him :—

"But then, on the other hand, my Hon. Friend admits that annexation may be required for the safety and security of our own frontier and our own people. (Hear, hear.) That is the very ground of the allegations on which justification is pleaded for this war. It was not to extend trade, [*not quite correct*, Ed.] it was not to gratify passion, it was not to flatter mere ambition, it was because a door was threatened to be opened at that point which would have brought into India intrigue, danger, insecurity, loss of happiness and prosperity to masses of the people who are dependent entirely upon our sovereign rule in that country. It was to defend them, and not for the purpose of giving effect to any idle dreams, that we believe this war to be necessary. (Opposition cheers.) I do not contest the fact that there has been disturbance produced within British Burmah in consequence of the disturbance in the neighboring country of Upper Burmah, but we have to consider whether we are to give credence or not to the allegations of the highest responsible authorities in India upon this matter. My Hon. Friend thinks that Lord Dufferin did not take time enough to make up his mind upon the question whether the annexation was just or unjust. It is very difficult indeed, and I think it would be more than difficult, it would be rash and unwarrantable, on our part, were we to lay down in this House at this time, at this distance, under these circumstances, the exact amount of time which it was necessary for Lord Dufferin to take in order to make up his mind on the supposed

place confidence in Lord Dufferin. (Cheers.) I know no reason for withholding it, or questioning the soundness of his judgment. He is a man in whom, from his great public vices, as well as from his temper and his character, we have the greatest reason to place this fidence."

Where Mr. Gladstone attempts to justify *the permanent and wholesale l absolute annexation* of Burmah, we feel that we cannot accept his ctrine *in toto*. Here we have the most eminent statesman, whose oad burning views on the rights and freedom of independent nations so well known, thoroughly discarding his own cherished principles of dicating weak nationalities :—

My Hon. Friend says that we should respect the sentiment of national existence. I cordially e with my Hon. Friend, but at the same time it is perfectly plain that in India cases may arisen where we have unjustly and greedily made annexations ; but other cases have arisen. ould instance, for example, the case of the annexation of the Punjab. In the case of the jab, I believe that there was a real sentiment of nationality to recognise and to respect ; but e was a just cause of war, and that just cause of war led to operations which convinced the ish Government of the day, and convinced the English nation, that the annexation of the ntry was best for the people of that country as well as for the security of India (hear, hear). I think that experience has shown that that was a sound and a right judgment to arrive I may say that a distinguished man, whom I had the honour of knowing well, was a little erned in that policy—the late Lord Hardinge—and I am convinced that no amount of otation or inducement would have led that gallant soldier and sound and prudent statesman eviate for one moment from the strict rule of right with regard to a political question er in India or any other part of the world, and therefore, though we may respect this senti- t of nationality, we cannot take it for an absolute rule to guide our actions."

Ve could not produce a stronger instance than this in support of the iest advice we gave to the Bombay Association, not to think of mention- names as either absolute friends or absolute foes of India. We have e the most highly raised statesman whom India has taken as its rest old man endeavoring to sweep away for ever all aspirations for ional existence in Upper Burmah, and for all time to come. The best nen in England are at times simply held by the spell of party ascen- cy, or party collapse. The action of the Government in transforming per Burmah into an absolute British Administration we have always sidered susceptible of the most generous construction. But it is a greeable surprise to us that even Mr. Gladstone should have failed in nting out the legitimate limits of annexational justice and influence he territories of the Golden-footed Monarch. That the foreign and tary administration of the country should always be absolutely British, that any future Monarch who may be nominated for the Burmese

should entirely be the creature of British India, we have ourselves, as one solitary native writer, emphatically maintained. Where is the necessity, then, of declaring in this early reforming generation of Burmah, that their nationality must for ever be deemed extinct? And it is the most vigorous, sturdy Christian champion of weak nationalities who has come out the first and the foremost in scorching the very first germs of an harmless nationality, which in itself has done no conceivable injury to Great Britain. We *must now place faith in God, and cannot abandon the hope that a Government may recur which may justly and cautiously modify this* disagreeable *pill of annexation, of a rather needlessly* absolute and astringent character. *We have always said that our native contemporaries* have overdone *their disapproval of the Government policy, and that the real poison of it has* been untouched, and now *seems to pass muster.*

It is grievous again to find so large-hearted and so capable a statesman doing another *injustice to India,* no doubt unwittingly. The Right Hon'ble Gentleman is quite content in saddling the whole expenses of the foreign expedition upon impoverished India!! We must respectfully and patiently hear him how he comes to this conclusion :—

"It is quite evident that the general sense of our administration is that India is to pay for her *bona-fide* Indian wars. I perfectly understand that if a party in this country is prepared to challenge the radical justice and propriety of the war, and show that it was wanton and wicked, *then a case might be raised for the purpose of arguing that the expense of it ought not to* be borne by India, which cannot have been heard upon the question, but ought to be borne by the superior power and authority of this country. That is not the case. There is no such allegation to be made or to be sustained, and it is not until such allegations have been made and examined by this House, that this House can properly entertain the question whether the charge should be made on the revenue of India. Nothing, it seems to me, can be more plain than *that, if we are to* make an entire departure from the old rule by which Indian wars should be *charged to Indian Revenue, it ought to be done on the grounds already established to the* satisfaction of this House. It will not do merely in the course of a debate upon charging the Indian Exchequer to make speeches, however able and ingenious, which are answered by other speeches, perhaps as ingenious and as able, and to make them the ground for what ought to be, even if it can ever be justified, an ulterior proceeding—namely, that of laying upon the British tax-payer the expense of an operation with which he, perhaps, has quite as little to do as *even the Indian taxpayer.*"

Mr. Gladstone has clearly indicated the ground which he has deemed all potent to charge the whole expenses of the expedition upon India; and that ground which he has fully and vigorously stated is that the war has been, in substance and in intention, a defensive war, and that it was

undertaken not to extend trade, not to gratify passion or mere ambition, but to secure India from foreign intrigue and danger. In the interests of truth, it must be submitted that the primary reason why this war was undertaken was as much to prevent India being subject to a new foreign danger as to save the general British Empire from the future contingency of a bitter conflict with either France, Russia, or China, or perhaps all three combined. May we respectfully ask, then, if it is common justice to saddle India with the whole of the expenses hitherto and to be hereafter incurred? It is fair that India should bear the maximum of the expenses which ought not to be more than one-half: we disapprove of the contention that England should bear the whole expenses and the reason advanced that the war was made only with a desire to extend British commerce. But we do strongly maintain that the Mother-country should bear half the expenses because the conquest of Burmah is a distinct gain to the British trade there, in the Siam States, and beyond them, in the magnificent Chinese Empire. England must also pay because of the steps taken to keep its foreign relations clear of misunderstandings and dangers that were expected of several of its rival Powers, whom she has now ousted from the whirlpool of her foreign relations.

We would strongly recommend the Bombay Associations to petition the Parliament on the two points which can be successfully insisted upon only on the fair, moderate and rational grounds above unfolded. The principle involved is grave in the interests of the Indian Empire, and its pointed assertion cannot be abandoned, whatever the one-sided utterances of authority in the English Parliament have been. Let us again remind the Indian Associations of their, in a greater measure, ineffectual existence, because they have not constant closely debating assemblages of their own, and because they have not yet seriously thought of our suggestion to start a patriotic daily in London—*The Eastern Sun, or the Light from the East*—to constantly enlighten the minds of our British countrymen on Indian matters, and on the duty and attention they owe to the weal and woe of the 250 millions of this country. The project oft reiterated in these columns has, we have reasons to believe, attracted some attention in Bombay and London, but when is the step to be taken in earnest? Would Mr. Gladstone have spoken in that partial irresponsible vein that he did, had there been a powerful and native daily in existence in the British Metropolis?—*4th and*

The restoration of the Fortress of Gwalior to the Maharaja Scindhia, which was long under the consideration of the Queen-Empress of India, is already an accomplished fact. This act of justice and grace has been carried out by the Earl of Dufferin and will be known hereafter as one of those beneficent acts which his Lordship has done in the course of his recent tour through the North-West Provinces and the Central Indian States. We may be allowed this opportunity to congratulate both his Lordship and the country which he rules on his recovery from the serious illness that attacked him while on his visits to various parts of India. We know the early dangers to which the constitution of new Viceroys and Governors are invariably subject in this country, and the extreme anxieties caused by the attacks from which Lord Ripon suffered soon after his arrival in India will not soon be forgotten. It is a happy circumstance that the Earl had the good fortune of personally carrying out the measure of the Rendition, especially when it is followed by an act of a now seemingly wholesale annexation. We have not studied the conditions under which the Restitution has taken place, and yet may say this much that the Viceroy has taken the action under notice in the most sincere and graceful manner that was in his power. His Lordship's movement is performed in so captivating a manner, so well winning the hearts of the native princes, that we desire to keep on record the Viceregal speech addressed to the Chief of Gwalior when the fulfilment of his life-long dream was effected by the Viceroy. Her Majesty must have been delighted at the way in which her great Indian Pro-Consul has discharged the obligation entrusted to him. We shall now quote here the stirring and pleasing speech entire:—

The Restoration of the Gwalior Fortress to Scindhia.

"Your Highness,—I have invited you to meet me here to-day, in order that I might formally communicate to you the intelligence that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India has resolved to bestow upon you a signal mark of her confidence and favour. Twenty-eight years ago India was shaken by a great convulsion, and, in common with many other native princes, your Highness found yourself involved in the gravest difficulties and dangers. These eventually culminated in the overthrow of your authority by a misguided soldiery which had risen in revolt alike against your Highness and against the British Government. The rebels were speedily defeated and dispersed by Her Majesty's troops, but, in the interests of peace and order, it was thought desirable that the fortress of Gwalior and the neighbouring cantonment of Morar should be temporarily garrisoned and held by a British force. This arrangement has been maintained up to the present day. Time, however, with its healing hand, combined with divine light, and the irresistible and subtle influences of civilisation, have in the [illegible]

making great changes around us. Order and tranquillity have succeeded to disturbance an unrest. Convinced both of the power and of the intention of the British Government to protect th weak, to control the unruly, and to reward the well-disposed, the inhabitants of the Native Stat of India, with few exceptions, have for many years past been following the path of progress in pea and contentment, while their rulers have long since recognised the benefits accruing to them fro the predominance of a Government which unfeignedly desires the perpetuation of their dynasti and the maintenance of their rights, demanding only in return that they should be loyal to the Empress and should administer their important governments in such a way as to promo the happiness of their subjects, for whose welfare the Paramount power is ultimately responsibl One of the results of that change has been that some of the precautions which were at one tim necessary both for the protection of the princes themselves and for the maintenance of th Imperial authority, have become superfluous. For these reasons and because the ruler of thi State, as is well known to all present, holds an exalted place among the loyal and capabl feudatories of the Crown, Her Majesty the Queen-Empress has determined to restore to you Highness' possession and keeping the noble fortress which towers above the capital of you State. In accepting this important trust, your Highness need have no apprehension that the support which you have hitherto received from the British Government will be in any way diminished. In consequence of the extension of Railways, and the changes which have taken place in the military requirements of the situation, we can act as effectively from a distance as from the positions we now occupy, and your Highness may rest assured that, if ever the necessity should arise, the British Government will fulfil with promptitude and energy the obligations imposed upon it by existing engagements. Her Majesty the Queen-Empress well knows that, in restoring to your Highness the fortress of Gwalior, she is gratifying one of the most ardent wishes of your heart; and I may add that it is a personal pleasure to myself to be the instrument of conveying to your Highness this fresh proof of Her Majesty's favour. At the same time, the Queen-Empress hopes that this act will be regarded throughout India, not merely as a personal favour bestowed upon the individual chief to whom it has been accorded, but as an indication that Her Majesty and the English nation have not failed to appreciate the universal loyalty to the Imperial rule, and to the throne and person of Her Majesty, which has recently been displayed in so striking a manner by the Princes, the Native States, and the people of India."

—*17th January*, 1886.

PART VII.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

The late Sir Bartle Frere.

A CIVILIZED statesman of universal fame, more especially connected with modern Indian history, has passed off from this world. From a civilian of the last grade he gradually rose to the highest post in Her Majesty's foreign empire—second only to the Indian Viceroyalty. The daily broad sheets of Bombay have, with singular resources of information, given us all the events of his career which resulted in his elevation to the Commissionership of various Indian provinces, to one of the most difficult political residencies of the past days, and ultimately to the Governorship and High Commissionership of large tracts of country in India and Africa. It is not our object, therefore, to recount the history of the personal rise of the deceased statesman. We should rather look him here as a factor in the advancement of India, and as a model to be kept in the mind's eye of native princes and native statesmen and politicians. He must have had a commanding genius, an indomitable perseverance, and a high moral worth to have left behind numerous senior civilians, and got at the top of the civil service, which carried weight both in India and England. When in 1867 the present writer roused the people in Gujerat to vote him the necessary public addresses—which they mostly did at his suggestion—he left India with such a brilliant name that no Indian Viceroy could desire a greater reputation than was unquestionably won by Sir Bartle Frere.

Perhaps even an Indian Viceroy, save one like Lord Lawrence who had devoted much more than a quarter of a century to an active residence in India, could hardly hope to show such a sustained labor as Sir Bartle did when he left Bombay. Excepting when he served as a member in the Viceregal Council, the construction of British administration, in all its branches, was left very much in his own hands. Whatever province he took up, it was backward in the elementary forms of government and progress. He organized the various services, introduced national public works and education, formed various systems of land assessment, sowed the seeds of some of the national arts and industries, ... tion of rough populations by means of his con... ...d ... Na-

making great changes around us. Order and tranquillity have succeeded to disturbance and unrest. Convinced both of the power and of the intention of the British Government to protect the weak, to control the unruly, and to reward the well-disposed, the inhabitants of the Native States of India, with few exceptions, have for many years past been following the path of progress in peace and contentment, while their rulers have long since recognised the benefits accruing to them from the predominance of a Government which unfeignedly desires the perpetuation of their dynasties and the maintenance of their rights, demanding only in return that they should be loyal to their Empress and should administer their important governments in such a way as to promote the happiness of their subjects, for whose welfare the Paramount power is ultimately responsible. One of the results of that change has been that some of the precautions which were at one time necessary both for the protection of the princes themselves and for the maintenance of the Imperial authority, have become superfluous. For these reasons and because the ruler of this State, as is well known to all present, holds an exalted place among the loyal and capable feudatories of the Crown, Her Majesty the Queen-Empress has determined to restore to your Highness' possession and keeping the noble fortress which towers above the capital of your State. In accepting this important trust, your Highness need have no apprehension that the support which you have hitherto received from the British Government will be in any way diminished. In consequence of the extension of Railways, and the changes which have taken place in the military requirements of the situation, we can act as effectively from a distance as from the positions we now occupy, and your Highness may rest assured that, if ever the necessity should arise, the British Government will fulfil with promptitude and energy the obligations imposed upon it by existing engagements. Her Majesty the Queen-Empress well knows that, in restoring to your Highness the fortress of Gwalior, she is gratifying one of the most ardent wishes of your heart; and I may add that it is a personal pleasure to myself to be the instrument of conveying to your Highness this fresh proof of Her Majesty's favour. At the same time, the Queen-Empress hopes that this act will be regarded throughout India, not merely as a personal favour bestowed upon the individual chief to whom it has been accorded, but as an indication that Her Majesty and the English nation have not failed to appreciate the universal loyalty to the Imperial rule, and to the throne and person of Her Majesty, which has recently been displayed in so striking a manner by the Princes, the Native States, and the people of India."

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temper quickened by acuteness and firmness. The highest excellence of his public and private character consisted in this. He did not work as a high type John Bull, eager to establish the predominance of his race in a foreign country. Indeed his whole tendency was dead against the exercise of a mean or unscrupulous aggressiveness. With commanding influences of authority, he was thrown in the midst of hundreds of thousands of people who would fall at his feet as if he was a little god upon earth. But he never accepted their blind obeisance, except for the purposes of supplying their dire wants, mitigating their miseries, leading them to the paths of self-questioning and internal prosperity, and elevating them for the fulfilment of some of the higher objects of mankind. All his character and sympathies went to show as if he was one of India's sons; he took a sincere pride and pleasure in establishing the most useful and the purest of all influences to work good amidst the countless Indians. He was no less considerate and kind to the aristocracy as to the people down the scale. While at Satara, an event turned up, in which his rare courage was tested in the way of indicating an invaluable right of the Mahratta nation, and he nobly stood up in their cause, though he was ultimately defeated by the action taken by the Government of India.

His appointment as Governor of the Bombay Presidency at once testified to his superior qualities as an administrator. The administration of that Presidency required qualities superior to those which sufficed for the building up of a provincial government, or for the semi-civilized millions. But Sir Bartle had enough of that fine enthusiasm, that ripe temper, and those literary and classical attainments combined with a searching knowledge of men and things rendered bright by his eloquence of speech, to successfully govern the London of the East. Nowhere else in India was his culture, his eloquence, and his affability taxed so much as in Bombay. No great event during his governorship perfected its use and grace without either his fascinating presence, his heart-stirring sentiments, or the force of his mature action, his telling energy, or his refined enthusiasm. In founding a public institution, or eulogizing a worthy servant of the State, or opening a beneficial enterprize, his ringing oration carried us to the darkest corners of the old times, or lifted up the audience to a glorious height of instruction and inspiration. A single speech from him of this sort was enough to make the small and the great his adherent and admirer for all times to come.

The city of Bombay in itself opened an immense opportunity to a capacious governor like the deceased statesman in leaving a permanent mark both on the city and its inhabitants. The entire confidence which he won from the then Viceroy of India enabled him to carry out his public works policy in the most liberal spirit and on the most extensive possible scale. To this spirit is due the magnificence and the creation of what is termed the new town of Bombay, and the yet unsurpassed liberality and public spirit displayed by the principal inhabitants in whom Sir Bartle generated a love for public good, which very few statesmen have been capable of doing. He was, no doubt, taken in with reference to the American crisis, but his financial adviser was primarily to blame for the crash which he allowed the Bombay Bank to arrive at. It was not possible to fully foresee the ultimate consequences of the war in America as would be contrary to those anticipated; but there is the strong evidence of Sir Bartle having been himself scandalized at the demoralization and ruin caused by the speculation mania of 1863 by his nominating a very independent and fearless Judge like the late Anstey, who took many influential persons to task for the mischiefs they had caused far and wide. Let us now see what was the estimate adopted in Gujerat of the character and talents of the deceased on his departure for England. In one of the addresses which we were instrumental in sending, that estimate was thus put forth:—

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"Situated as we are in one of the most peaceful corners of Her Majesty's Indian dominions, we feel ourselves incapable of fully appreciating the magnitude of your valuable services during the critical period of the mutinies; first as Commissioner of Sind, and afterwards as a member of the Governor-General's Council, services which have enrolled your name among the greatest of British Indian Statesmen.

"But it is as Governor of Bombay that your Excellency has [illegible] the [illegible] ing gratitude of the communities which inhabit this part of the [illegible]. It would be impossible to do full justice to the zeal and earnestness evinced [illegible] of millions committed to your charge. Whilst the [illegible] of hospitals, charitable and [illegible], and the [illegible] your Excellency's [illegible] [illegible] given to measures of general improvement [illegible] suggestions of the intelligent portion of the [illegible] made for the improvement of the [illegible] successful endeavours made for advancing the [illegible] and the [illegible] literacy of your [illegible]

at large and the sincerity of your desire for giving greater efficiency to the general administr of the country.

"We cannot pass over in silence the various legislative enactments of your Excelle Government, calculated for the good and well-being of the native society; and beg leav allude to some of the most important. The Act for ameliorating the condition of Talookdars of Gujerat, and the measures adopted for the education of their children will, doubt, long be held as monuments of your earnest wish for the preservation and regenera of the ancient nobility of India. The passing of special laws for regulation of the marri and succession amongst the Parsees will, it is hoped, contribute not a little to the so happiness of that section of the native community. The Summary Settlement Act has relie the fears and strengthened the titles of the landholders of Gujerat.

"It must, indeed, be a source of unmixed pleasure to your Excellency that your gene exertion in the cause of education should have been rewarded by the opportunities y Excellency enjoyed of seeing the natives of this Presidency honored for the first time in y administration with university degrees for their proficiency in literature and fine arts and in studies of the liberal professions, and of enlarging the sphere of their usefulness in the gove ment of their country—opportunities which, we feel certain, every English gentleman will proud to avail of. It must, we presume, be peculiarly gratifying to Lady Frere that the vi interest she has along with your Excellency always manifested in encouraging the education females has also borne fruits in this and other provinces.

"The services rendered by your Excellency to the cause of humanity in effectually persuadi the Gaekwar to relinquish for ever the modes of punishment obtaining in his territor repugnant to the sense and feelings of the civilized portion of mankind, will, with pleasure, remembered by the people of Gujerat for generations to come to your Excellency's lasting cred The relief afforded to the Chief of Dhurumpore will also not be easily forgotten by the frien of that unhappy prince."

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In reviewing the reply transmitted by the late statesman, the views whic were expressed by us, now serve to revive the impressions left on the publi mind by Sir Bartle's Indian career. These views were thus expressed :—

"All the replies of Sir Bartle Frere published in both our Departments are tinged with tha quality to which he owes not a little of his success,—if any part of the success of a ruler depend particularly upon the conciliatory policy he adopts in raising the condition of the masses, t whom nothing can prove of more benefit than that feeling almost resembling genuine filial affec tion, *mabap* being the term they voluntarily apply to their rulers. To every one of the citi Sir Bartle Frere has offered so tenderly kind, exhortative and encouraging expressions—so judiciou and upon the whole, so appropriate and far-seeing. To any thinking and experienced min they present themselves for an analysis : suggestive, pleasing and instructive. They have in ther the springs of various problems, bearing upon the great future of the time-sanctified and onc renowned cities and towns of Gujerat. To His Excellency's elevated mind, the realization of th past glories, still hovering among us like dim shadows, is instructive, which he can at the sam time bring in consonance with the things of the present and of the future. Would that even few of our intelligent citizens and administrators were fired with such a practical, holy spirit o

levelling! How much of our great public miseries would begin then to dwindle, how the cause of general contentment and comfort would advance, and another phase of greatness and prosperity take the place of the splendors of the times gone by, for which we now so fruitlessly lament."

It was understood that Sir Bartle Frere used to attend to what was represented in the Gujerat Journal from time to time, though honest and intelligent journalism rarely existed, and was, besides, very precarious in those days. *It was thus that the Governor gave Surat an officer* of pre-eminent ability,* who made it what it now is, and caused gross wrongs to be redressed, which were revealed in the columns of that Journal from time to time.

On retiring from India, perhaps, the fondest hope of Sir Bartle was to return to it some day as the Queen's Vizier. He was posted to the most difficult duties afterwards, but neither the India Council membership, nor his African exploits could have compensated him for the highest Indian prize which could have been placed fairly within his reach. His mellowed and all-embracing influence at the Viceroyalty might not have turned disappointing, though his concluding career was embittered by his conflicts with the Liberal Ministry. Probably to this bitterness was due the extreme tendency he developed with reference to the Ilbert Bill. Had he been in India swaying the sceptre, he would have inclined himself to a well-balanced policy in the matter—much the same as Lord Ripon's, our present honest and catholic-spirited Viceroy. But such actions as on the Ilbert Bill, or in reference to the share mania of Bombay—which we ourselves had systematically and strongly denounced—were but minor accidents to which great minds are occasionally prone. To the large uniform strides of his policy spanning half a century's history, we have to turn for a lesson. Many of the administrative grooves have been formed since Frere left India. It matters little however. As the prospect since is considerably deepened, so administrators have neared those sources of national shortcomings, which should now be more definitely and more elaborately handled. The opportunity for earnest statesmen is increased, not diminished by the labours of past statesmen, however vigorous and brilliant their work has been. The heritage left by such men belongs as much to Natives as to Europeans. It has been popularized, for the country is now more extensively affected by it. In following the deceased's example, native administrators have to apply a

* Mr. (now the Hon'ble Sir) T. C. Hope, who was himself once Private Secretary to the demised Governor, and has ever since raised great hopes of winning the same laurels as Frere did. But Sir Theodore differs from the latter in possessing greater firmness and less of sentiment.

scale much correcter than British Statesmen were ever able to do in past generations, though the spirit with which they worked could scarcely be surpassed! The Indian Empire has created a series of British statesmen without much of their counterpart in the subject nations. We have dwelt long on Sir Bartle's career to fire his spirit into the minds of native politicians, who have yet to appear in the wake of Englishmen like him or like Lawrence or Elphinstone. As our Empire made the latter, so should the Empress' Government also make like men out of the native communities. The greater the moral force the better for both the rulers and the ruled. Again, there is a moral to be drawn by native princes from the career of such Englishmen as the subject under notice. The administrators working under them have to be encouraged on nearly the same lines as observable in the case of Frere, if the native kingdoms are to show large results. The humane and cultured native prince himself can acquire as great and as abiding a statesman's reputation as has been hitherto the exclusive property of one section of India's sons, *i.e.*, the worthy *British* conquerors. *The British* and *Native* princes have all to unite in *fixing upon the policy which we venture to* draw as a moral from the career of the late Sir Bartle. Here is one *feature* of that really broad basis *formed of the highest and independent devotion* to State duty, nurtured in the case *of Frere, which shall more easily than* we can now conceive so strengthen *the future Anglo-Indian federated* Empire, which no internal convulsions can ever *shake or any external* violence destroy.—*8th June*, 1884.

Death of Kristodas Pal.

THE nervous hand which wrote from year to year the deaths of many a fellow-patriot and many a famed man of all faiths and sects has itself been caught and removed—alas for ever! Mourning readers, it is Kristodas Pal who has vanished and taken his ranks, be it said, among the earthly dead converted into saints, as those of the earthly corpses are, whose ever-living soul, while here, work for the good of the helpless millions.

It was too early for him to die. Imbued with the spirit of the highest culture, he was as good for the needs of any people of India as of its diverse governments. From an unique brilliant in the Crown of India worn by one of the most deserved of its Imperial Dictators, was he not the sympathetic friend of the humblest kerani, or the simplest cooly? Yes he was. Every page and line he wrote bears testimony to that masterly feeling-heart of his.

His pen was a pliant tool when there was a high call for forbearance or moderation. It was a running scimitar when a dire emergency of the country wanted so. Those quick lively eyes were a milky depth when a great end was to be gained by persuasion. The same eyes emitted the strongest light when some public inequity had to be shown up and remedied. No petty cause moved him. No side-issues—no mere phantom of a national object diverted him from his well-chosen path of duty. His reprobation to the excitable and flippant of his own contemporaries was not killing—it told in the inner chambers of the heart like the persuasive rebukes of a kind mother to her darling child. He knew native journalism in India would be nowhere if withering anger fell on those who alone at the outset could establish public voice in India. A prince of the Native Press, his shield covered many of its defects. He was a standing answer to its unfeeling slander. The chiefs of the country felt him as their true friend and powerful supporter. In the worst times they knew him as their well-meaning censor. He won the respect even of British officials and administrators. Though their unsparing critic, he was no less their sincere friend and a loyalist at heart of the British Government. He commanded their rare confidence as the Native Press delighted to reckon him as their chief. If ever were public honors bestowed unsolicited and so deserved by a pleased and appreciative government, the Hon'ble Kristodas was one of such rare recipients. The foremost among the honored patriots of the country, he will ever be known as one of the solid monuments and one of the most gracious designs of our British Empress in India. Even if we could have counted men like Pal, the good and the wise, by hundreds, and not on fingers, the country would have sorrowed over his death.

Though often an uncompromising publicist, he was invariably a [illegible] and respectful listener of any side most opposed to him. He knew better than any of the journalists on his side how to inspire confidence in the government in regard to the advocacy or disapproval of public measures and was thus honored with close relations with an [illegible] the administration under the Viceroy himself. His [illegible] Viceregal Council was as honorable to the [illegible] important opportunity to the public of India [illegible] sented, as far as the Hon'ble Kristodas Pal [illegible] there was a proof of the [illegible]

ber of the highest Council, provided he could win that position b the dint of extensive knowledge and labors in the cause of the peopl —these being supplemented by tolerant, loyal, and noble qualities, such a Kristodas Pal unceasingly displayed for many years. Had he lived som years yet, his patriotic labors would have won for him more distinction As it is, we cannot reckon his death less than a national calamity. Ma his successor prove himself of the same mettle.—*3rd August*, 1884.

Premature deaths among Native Leaders.

AFTER the death of the Colossus of the Native Press, a somewhat interest ing question has been raised as to the causes of earl deaths ensuing among natives known as public leader of the country. A leading Bengal paper has emphatically said that the cutting-off in the prime age is due to the discouraging influence that the system of the British Government exercises on the minds of the enthusiastic sect of the educated natives. Others ascribe the premature deaths to various causes—weakness of food, oppressive climate injurious social customs, hereditary debility, want of physical exercise, political misfortunes, and so forth. On all sides it is admitted that the public men of England live longer than those of India, while the former have also longer working lives than the latter.

If we wish to enter into comparisons, we would rather prepare a statistical return for various towns in England, showing the average lives of its public men, together with the average number of years for which they usually work hard. And then we should like to see a similar return prepared for India. That would be something like reliable data on which to form an exact opinion.

We are to make the best of our ordinary observations in the absence of this data. The question has been first raised on the Bengal side. It is there that our public men have died rapidly of late. As we stated, in recording the death of Kristodas Pal, his was the early lot to fall, who had written a succession of similar deaths himself. If so, there may be combination of causes peculiar to Bengal, tending to the early destruction of promising lives.

It is well that the question has been started. Every educated and leading man ought to study and profit by it. The general tendency is an indifference is shown towards the question, and no anxious consideration is paid to it. The currents of life have to be watched from the earliest age. It is not likely that a Collegiate, however clever he may be, will al

at once forget the conditions in which he may have been brought up, and then commence life *de novo* on pattern principles. He will know a lot about patent medicines, and will perhaps go a regular course through them. His early associations known best by himself would be his old maladies of the head and the stomach with some recurring wasting disease. His nervousness combined with girlish bashfulness keeps him confined to his closet of studies as soon as he returns from the College. He was very likely an intellectual precocity when quite a boy. His parents, not having themselves experienced how culture of youth is based on a well-balanced training of the mind as well as the body, have wondered at his precociousness, and have hardly spent a thought on his suicidal mode of raking his brains for years together without remission, except perhaps when the brain fever is developed. By the time the book-worm leaves the College, he has probably ruined more than half his vital force, and is ready to sacrifice the remainder at the altar of early marriage fulfilling the anxiety of the parents in begetting an array of children, who form the climax of the young man's honor and happiness. Having passed through the two severe crucibles just when the powers of manhood are fairly started, the system naturally recoils from all labors requiring bodily and mental perseverance, and half the other life is spent in a state of semi-activity, and full drowsiness whenever it can be indulged without much loss or remorse.

To a person of higher intellectual and moral capacity, want of sufficiency of muscular food, the sinews of war, and the proverbial eastern discouragement dealt out to public-spirited conduct and actions, form a further source of weakness. To the degree that the oppressiveness of the Indian climate tells on the learned of the country, their lives must more or less succumb with certainty. The next progeny of the leaders may expect to receive better physical and intellectual training, being also free to a certain extent from the evils of early marriages. We do not believe, as some do, that the effects of struggling in a public or political cause should necessarily be injurious to health. If this be true, political contests in England are so severe that those engaged in them should have their lives much shortened than they really seem to be. But there is one serious fact noteable in this connection. Life must, no doubt, prove a burden and misery to those who act on an exaggerated notion of their public duty. We cannot take excitable and oversanguine persons to be real patriots, who think that, in violently running ' n

the Government, their Servants, and their Measures, they establish their Patriotism, do good to their Country, or to themselves. In public as in private life, wisdom, discretion and full integrity have to be employed. Discard these practical virtues, and the sagacity to weigh matters well before expressions are put forth, or a line of action is adopted, and mortal disappointments must come in the end. A leader would do well to guage his capacity before taking up a work. A great deal of energies is economized by blending moderation with firmness, by discarding exaggerations, and adopting the safest possible truth by employing the concentrated logic of facts, and eschewing hot-headed rhetorics by subduing offensive passions, cultivating all-embracing sympathies and the sense of all-sided appreciation. The employment of rank abuses, the outburst of passionate jealousies and hatreds, the display of uncharitable feelings and rank, aggressive patriotism, the extreme intoleration of certain human weaknesses which may be beneficially passed over, lay the seeds of personal unhappiness and life's premature extinction. The vital forces of the human system cannot be perpetually set on fire without prematurely annihilating them. It is their moderate use which is effective and lasting. There is any amount of political rivalry and competition in England, compared to which India's cognate force is almost nothing. And yet the politicians there know well how to use this influence. No doubt it will take some generations yet to attain that finish of our moral and intellectual faculties as now observed in England and elsewhere. Meanwhile much can now be done by a self-controlled exercise of independent powers of the mind, and well-regulated qualities of the head. No such capacity can be long sustained without physical vigor, which, again, cannot be conserved and reinforced without systematic self-denial, and subjecting the body to constant exercise, either simple, or in quest of instructive and enlivening associations of Nature and Art. While the enlightened leaders of our society can copy much out of the hardy stuff of noble Britons, their intemperance in drinking—which the wiser of them so honorably avoid—is the one thing which cannot be sufficiently discouraged. The depressing effects of mental work and worry warrant their using substantial food, with reasonable precautions to avoid giving offence to caste prejudices. The violation of caste traditions in this instance may be deemed heinous, if the remarriage of Hindu widows can be so considered. The modification demanded by the exigencies of

present times in the habit of taking the time-honored food, need only be confined to those with whom the change may be felt imperative. Those who may badly feel for a substantial change in their diet will only be showing true moral courage in adopting that change without, however, giving unnecessary offence to their caste brethren. At the outset, the change should be attempted with considerable reserve and quietness, if sheer necessity dictates it. In conclusion, we have only time to observe that premature deaths among educated natives are by no means general throughout that community, but are confined to some of their sects only. As the intellectual and moral faculties are better cultured, and for lengthened periods, it would be quite possible to show long and active lives creditable to any advanced society.—*17th August*, 1884.

The Late Model Patriot.

THE worth of the late Hon'ble Kristodas Pal has been better known after his death than when he lived and worked for the good of his country. It is so in the case of all really good and great men. While living, they variously affect so many clashing interests that they become subject to sympathy as well as antipathy; the real and full appreciation is reserved, as it were, till their death. When the object which moved the minds of opposite parties is gone for ever, then the people readily forget all petty differences and unite in one voice to do honor to the predominant qualities which may have achieved great results benefiting nations at large.

Looking at the character of the meeting recently assembled at Calcutta to devise means for perpetuating the memory of the deceased, we are privileged to point out in the person of the late Editor of the *Hindu Patriot* as a safe and high class representative for native India—one who was admired and respected both by the British Government and the people whom he represented. Any one who reads the speeches of Sir Rivers Thompson, Sir Steuart Bayley and Sir Richard Garth will at once see how deeply the European community have felt the loss caused by the death of one of India's foremost and wisest sons. There is no singularity in the deceased's countrymen holding him in the highest admiration and esteem. But it is a singular gain to India and to its leaders when Anglo-Indian statesmen sympathetically dwell on the character of Kristodas as one which would do honor to any advanced country even in Europe.

Sir R. Thompson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who took t chair, in calling upon Sir R. Garth to move the first resolution, s that the meeting assembled with universal consensus of opinion in favour; and men connected with the Goverment of India have also b anxious to attend it. His Honor said that he knew him much lon than any of his other European friends; that he could affirm that Government was guided by "the independent and unbiased opinion Kristodas Pal on almost every measure of importance; and that a legislator, Municipal Commissioner and a native journalist, he had ex cised a wide influence for good in educating the public mind on gr and important public questions."

Sir Steuart Bayley said his memory would live even without a monumer It was not merely his' unwearied industry and remarkable ability whi procured him the esteem and confidence of the Government whose acti he had not unfrequently to condemn. Sir Steuart said that the prin cause of his success was the perfect balance of his judgment and the si cerity of his character, not merely intellectual but moral as well, whi had its basis on independence untainted with either passion or prejudic He could not resort to any rose-water methods in playing the part H. M.'s Opposition, for he had to fight for obtaining ever widening righ *and privileges for his countrymen. Notwithstanding this:*

"He not only obtained amidst universal applause seat, first in the Bengal Council and afte wards in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, but in both Councils maintained his position a most active and formidable debater, whose criticisms were searching and never wanting in forc of expression. In both capacities he dealt hard knocks, for some of which I came in for m share. And yet few public characters would look back upon a career of a quarter of a centur and find so little to regret in the way of reckless assertion, vulgar abuse, or denunciation prompted by improper or personal motives. In short, though he was a leader of the Oppositio he was the leader of 'H.M.'s Opposition,' and was as loyal, temperate, and just in his aim and objects, as he was courageous and unflinching in his method and his criticism."

We are not surprised that Sir Steuart should have been enamoured o the manner in which Kristodas pursued the dearest objects of his life We feel relieved to know the best manner in which our Anglo-India brethren can feel reconciled with us, while we earnestly beg writer in journals of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* fervour to ponder ove what Sir Steuart has so honorably and so impartially laid down for th guidance of native patriots. With him we readily say: "Let the memor of Kristodas be like the after-glow that still illuminates the wester

sky after the sun itself is sunk below the horizon." Nobly said ye worthy Bengal Knight!

Prince Furrokh Shah was there to pay a tribute to the deceased for his broad and catholic sentiments which led him to be a sincere friend and well-wisher of the Mahomedans. This trait in the Hindu, Parsi and Christian communities is one needing a keen extension and development. Let all our fellow-countrymen remember that the inferior condition of the Indian Mahomedans is no source of strength to any of them; that their present deplorable condition is akin to one great arm of this Continent being paralyzed. The soundness of this doctrine we have brought forward and insisted upon ever since we have wielded this humble pen; and we are so gratified to find at this meridian period of our generation that the doctrine is surely and slowly recognized both by our countrymen and our rulers.

Sir Richard Garth said that he knew no man who showed a larger information on most subjects, or who discussed them so freely, fairly and excellently as their departed friend. The veteran Chief Justice thus expatiated on the merits of Kristodas:—

"However keenly he may have felt, however vigorously or eloquently he may have defended his own position in a debate, he could speak and write on most leading questions, whether in the columns of his journal or the Council Chamber, with an amount of good temper, fairness and moderation which was an example to all public men. (Applause.) Another thing to which he wished to allude was, that no man ever had such a number of warm and fast friends as he had among all sections of the community. He was in and out amongst them on all occasions—from Government House to the house of the humblest individual he was always an honoured guest. (Applause.) For all that they knew that he was a strong party leader, with strong party prejudices and strong party feelings; but he never allowed his party feelings or party bias to interfere with his social relations, or with the performance of his public duties."

His Highness the Maharaja of Durbhanga spoke of Kristodas as he was elected by the Supreme Council as one of the political associates of whom the Maharaja was a representative. This "was a great step in advance in "the path of political progress—a serious political experiment, upon the "success of which depended the realization of much of our future hopes." The choice was undoubtedly justified by the eminent success achieved by the deceased politician and patriot who equalled some of the European members of the Council "in soundness of reasoning, command of language, "readiness of rejoinder, and the graces of style."

Mr. Harrison's speech was a touching one; in that he feelingly described the power of oratory which Kristodas Pal commanded as t-

member of the Corporation, in whose work of drudgery he took a delight and foremost part, as the Calcutta Municipal Chairman eloquently showed. He said: "not only have I been often fascinated by his fluency and "brilliancy of declamation, but I am free to admit that I have frequently "deemed it a duty no less than pleasure to read his speeches after their "delivery, and trace the skill, the art of concealing the art by which he "led hearers up to the points which he had to make, and carried aw "the meeting with the enthusiasm which he imparted to them."

Dr. Mahendralal Sircar affirmed that, in spite of his successes, Kristod never once forgot that he was of an obscure origin, which was his great exce lence of character. He was never tired to do good works and never complai ed of arrears. The goodness of his heart was his spur, and his clear judgmer and unflinching conscientiousness, his rein, pushing onward and disposin of heavy business. In his jet-black skin, Dr. Sircar said, was encased jewel of a human soul as precious and as lustrous as any that adorned an enlightened any country or nationality:

"Great as he acknowledgedly was in the arena of public life by his uncommon intellectua attainments, by his unrivalled grasp and mastery of all the public questions of the day, social educational, municipal, legislative, political, by his singular command of a foreign and mos difficult tongue, by his terse and vigorous and felicitous eloquence, by his rare power of read debate, by his marvellous tact to put things in the proper light so as to command the respect i not always to force the conviction of his opponents, and last not least, by the absolute control he possessed over self—qualities which made him the foremost man of his country in his generation, and which, as a severely critical friend who had often to differ from him in opinion has very justly said, would have made him the foremost man of his time in any country in which he might have been born—great as Kristodas Pal thus undoubtedly was in public life, he was greater by far in all the sacred relations of private life. (Loud applause.) Whether as a son, as a father, as a husband, or as a friend, Kristodas had no equal, and a better, a greater, a nobler model my countrymen, especially the younger generation, could not have in these days of go-aheadism and pseudo-enlightenment, when young men, intoxicated with a tincture of Western education, think too lightly of what they consider to be the humbler but which in reality are the most important relations of life. (Renewed applause.) The reverence of Kristodas for his parents and his devotion to them were unbounded. (Applause.) They were to him his earthly gods. While labouring under his own mortal sickness, he was solicitous of their comforts to a degree and displayed for their trifling ailments an anxiety that in the whole course of my experience I have not seen another man to do. (Loud applause.) His affection and love for his children bordered on indulgence. His tenderness for the partner of his life could be known only to one who had the privilege of admission into the innermost depths of his heart. The warmth of his friendship was felt by all who enjoyed that privilege, and they are not few in

The work of Kristodas affecting every province of India extended over 28 years. The essence of the Hon'ble Mr. Wishwanath Mundlik's speech was as below :—

"They were indebted for the position which the country occupied in that scheme of progress and enlightenment which their Government directed, to the hearty concurrence in it of men like Kristodas Pal. And if they sometimes found a certain amount of diffidence and distrust in the minds of those who watched that progress, it only lay with themselves to remove that distrust and correct those impressions, by steadily persevering in a course of hard work and self-abnegation such as had been exhibited by their late and much lamented friend, the Hon'ble Kristodas Pal, throughout the whole of his valuable life. (Applause.) There was no progress worthy of the name unless it was gained by hard and unremitting labour. No doubt, the progress of educational institutions on this side of India had been very great: but there was one point in the career of the deceased, to which he wished to draw the attention of the meeting, particularly of the native gentlemen present, and that was the deceased's appeal for the conversation of all the ancient science and learning of the country which, under the din of fashion, was being neglected. The educated youth of the country were apt to run away with the notion that India was a clean sheet, with no traditions, and no stores of knowledge in it. Those who had studied for themselves the writings of such learned *savants* as Professor Max Muller and others would do exactly that which Kristodas used so well to expound and preach to all his admiring and now sorrowing countrymen."

Dr. Sanders highly approved of the proposal to establish an Eye Infirmary in Kristodas' name. Some of the most famous hospitals in India are called after its most distinguished men, for instance, the "Mayo Hospital," the "Ripon Hospital," the "Gokuldas Hospital." An Eye Hospital created to perpetuate Pal's name would be singularly appropriate, for "he was a bright and opening light, and the Hospital will "be the means of giving the blessings of light to thousands of his suffering "countrymen." A familiar saying is attributed to Kristodas who often used to express it : "If you wish to know what it is to lose your sight, close "your own eye for 24 hours, and you may then faintly appreciate what it is "to be blind." An Eye Hospital, then, will ever bless his name as the many thousands who would be benefited by it. We earnestly trust a statue may also be erected in his honor.

There is not a second native patriot in India who, whatever his enlightenment, exertions and character, has yet rose to such a fame and success as the Hon'ble Kristodas Pal had deservedly won in his life-time. In the repetition of his examples will lie the solution of some noted portion of the Indian and England's difficulties. We have no time to on the subject any further.—*25th January*, 1885.

A GREAT tribune of the people of Western India is dead. Those wh

A National Loss.

had not heard of Mr. Nowrosji Furdunji's illne would hardly believe that he is no more, and that h potent voice which never faltered for a quarter of a century will n more be raised to redress human wrongs, to obtain privileges for helple people, or to expose a public folly or extravagance. He was no statesma or a politician of the highest ranks, it is true; but he was a perfe marvel sprung from an humble origin amidst stagnant Indian association Considering the condition of the Indian people, no one could expect t get a more useful or a more universal man than Mr. Nowrosji strove t be. Though his labours never aspired after giving any large policy t the Indian Empire, his efforts in many of the less significant paths o Indian history were model ones—such as in India at least we may no find one in a ten hundred thousand souls capable of showing. Among the earliest social and political reformers in India, his figure will stand pre-eminent; and he will not be the less famous in Indian history because the country may in future witness much finer and far more widely useful patriots than Mr. Nowrosji. He was one of those who alighted in the dawn of modern history with the first rays of light, and those who may hold the more glowing torches of a stronger light will always be animated by a glance-back at the milder prime rays from which the fuller light is being issued. He has left a permanent mark as a reformer of his own community, of the society in general, and of such administrative policies as invited his probing criticisms in the form of stirring speeches or well-reasoned petitions. The most powerful and the oldest Parsi organ and institutions will be ever indebted to his paternity and fostering care. In the self-governing machinery of Bombay he furnished a wheel, the strokes and actions of which were felt in the whole mechanism. If he ever aspired after a distinction from Her Majesty the Queen, he might well have got it many years before, for his elevation was too long delayed. But we personally know it came to him quite unexpected. We must deplore in common with many thousands of his countrymen his unexpected death—which is a real national loss to the whole of India. We regret it particularly because it has followed immediately after the elevation of his highly worthy *confrere* Mr. Dadabhai Nowrosji to the Council. He has not survived the sincere satisfaction which this distinguished and exceptional nomination must have caused to Mr.

Nowrosji, whose turn for admission into the same Council would have come a year or two hence, had he been spared a little longer. We offer our best condolences to his *family* and to his personal *friends* on whom his death must severely tell; it must cause a void besides, which can never indeed be filled. The sorrow occasioned by such a death cannot be expressed by any words; it speaks for itself and it becomes the expression of the country itself.—*27th September*, 1885.

The late Right Hon'ble Henry Fawcett, M.P.

All educated India have learnt with sorrow the death of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Fawcett, M.P., who was also a Minister in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet. His death would hardly have stirred our feelings had he merely represented the constituency in England. Only elected by one of its constituencies he brought himself up as a member for India, though, constitutionally, we have not been granted a single member to represent this vast dependency. For the best portion of his career, in fact, before he started in his public career, he entirely lost his eyes by an accident which, however, served to mould his life for a truly useful and noble sphere. As a debater in the Parliament, he made a great mark—for a long period as a member of Her Majesty's Opposition—no matter whether the Government was Liberal or Conservative. It may be inferred from this single fact how a capable and honest member—whatever his professions—can become an authority in pointing out the shortcomings of every successive Government. The stuff of which the late hon'ble gentleman was made was neither brittle nor too hard, for then as a Liberal he would have proved an unfit critic of the acts of the Liberal Government. The Premier of England is known to have always paid ready attention to what he had to say in respect of any measure before the Parliament. We believe he was somewhat unlike writers like Mr. Seymour Keay or Mr. Wilfrid Blunt. He scarcely adopted the sentimental or [illegible] advocacy of the Indian cause, for he is said to have always rigidly [illegible] himself to facts and figures concerning the questions that he took up to benefit India. It is as master of political and economic knowledge of England and India specially that he always will be known as one of the famous public men of England. He dealt with Indian matters in that broad, sound and comprehensive spirit which carried [illegible] with the august listeners in the House of Commons. [illegible] [illegible]

he was certainly not far removed from being a first-rate writer economic, political and social questions. His is an example worthy to be followed by highly educated natives capable of entering public life. commanding much means and influence in early life—starting a professor in the Cambridge College remembered by many of his students holding responsible positions—and struck by a calamity which would ... ninety-nine in a hundred men, the late member for Hackney, neverthel... was able to lay the foundation of a greatness which the best in Engl... may well emulate. With this example before them, men of some capa... and zeal might strive hard to realize the high ideal of duty which deceased had constantly set before him. Closely following his footste... we *have*, no doubt, men like Professor Dadabhai Nowrosji, who, howev... can only make up a very thin phalanx for such a mighty country India.

It is no exaggeration to say that it was the rare good fortune of Inc... that it counted for years upon the constant and faithful advocacy of Parliamentary member like the late Fawcett in England. The deman... on public life are so very keen and all-engrossing for that countr... itself, that hardly any one in both Houses care to represent India, as th... blind, though really all-seeing, Fawcett did. It was well that subscrip... tions were collected in India to defray his electoral expenses more than once. Now, that one of our noblest and most disinterested advocates is dead, it is the bounden duty of India to concert fit measures for perpetuatin... his name in our country as also in England. We should have Fawcet... Medals or Scholarships in the Presidencies of India, as also in one of th... foremost Universities in England. Let the University students of ou... other-country know how we honor the Englishman who devotes himsel... to the cause of India like Fawcett. We need not dwell upon the invaluabl... effect which may be produced on their young minds and which ma... ultimately prove of great service to India. We must not grudge the mone... that will be required, nor slacken our efforts to interest powerful member... in both Houses in the improvement of the condition of India. Unless we thus practically identified ourselves with what has been left by the late Right Hon'ble gentleman, it would be very difficult to make the people of England think that we at all earnestly care for the interests of our own country. Let us, therefore, be up and doing something in the way of perpetuating the name of one of the sincere friends of India.—*23rd Nov*

India's Tribute to the late Mr. Fawcett.

In the early part of this month, Bombay gave expression to one ... most promising characteristics by holding a repre... tative meeting in honor of the late Professor Faw... who was popularly known as the Member for In... Though the meeting in the Town Hall was the people's, Lord Reay ... residing over it indicated how the Government and the people can ... one in the interests of the Empire when no party question is at issu... Ordinarily, Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai would, of course, have presided, but in h... unavoidable absence an opportunity seemed to have been taken in havin... the government itself to sympathize with the "Fawcett Memorial" movement. In seconding the proposition of the Hon'ble Mr. Nanabhai Haridas that Lord Reay may be requested to take the chair, Sir William Wedderburn said:

"This great assembly is here this evening to do honour to the memory of a high-minded English statesman (cheers), whose name has become a household word out here, to express that policy of strict justice and warm sympathy which can alone bind India to England. Mr. Fawcett's sympathy with India was very strong, and India has worthily reciprocated that feeling, and not the least, in this city of Bombay, which has always been the very centre and focus of good-will towards the British rule. (Loud cheers.) This is the first time that his Excellency the Governor has met the public of Bombay. (Cheers.) The occasion is an auspicious one, and we ought to welcome him most heartily." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Nowrosji Furdoonjee, C.I.E., brought to notice the many years which rolled away since Mr. Fawcett's services were appreciated in India. A public address was forwarded to the Electors of Brighton who had returned him to Parliament, as also a silver Tea Service to the deceased statesman as a token of appreciation of his services in 1872. Messrs. Nowrosji and Sorabji Shapoorji Bengali had also been identified with a movement subsequently made to pay the electioneering expenses of Mr. Fawcett!

The *Times of India* in recording the proceedings states that their Excellencies Lord and Lady Reay entered the Town Hall amidst "a storm of cheers." And well it was. As Lord Reay so well put: "I am not come here by a resolution of Government that his Excellency in Council permits the Governor to attend this meeting—(laughter)—I have come here prompted by my own impulse to join a spontaneous movement which, I hope, will be very successful." (Applause.) More interesting was the following declaration:—

"And I may say that though there is no resolution of the Government of Bombay, there is ...t I think, you will appreciate with me as a very prosperous omen, the hearty sympat... of

my noble friend the Viceroy, who has asked me to express on this occasion that he was in heart sympathy with this movement—(Applause); that he was well aware what Fawcett had done for India; and that he was also well aware that what was done for the people of India met with a grateful response on their part." (Applause.)

We shall now devote ourselves to the direct object for which the distinguished meeting was called. We need not flatter the Governor of Bombay in stating that his speech was the best among those delivered that evening. It seems to us as the result of a close and impartial study of Fawcett's life. Henceforth we may act much better by knowing the late Fawcett by Lord Reay's speech, and knowing Lord Reay himself by what he drew out of the character of the former those traits which had formed the renowned paths of his life that he had constructed for himself. Lord Reay delivered in a focus what Mr. Fawcett's position was in dealing with the question of the revenues and expenditures of India. It will be serviceable to our readers to give here His Excellency's synopsis of Mr. Fawcett's views:—

"He establishes the following conclusions: 'First, the revenue is characterised by great inelasticity. In the second place, that the expenditure has increased in a marked manner in recent years, partly from the general increase in the cost of administration, and partly from a depreciation in the cost of silver.' The latter difficulty is not less present to our minds now than it was when Mr. Fawcett spoke thus. In the next place he says, very truly, that the right way to meet, that is, to increase the demand for silver, and that the action of Government can do a great deal towards this object. (Applause.) In the third place he says that 'the military expenditure is excessive, absorbing 45 per cent. of the entire net revenue of the country, and this expenditure is likely to be augmented if the frontier of India is advanced, as now seems to be contemplated.' And that is also very true. Fourthly, 'a comparatively stationary revenue having to meet an increasing expenditure, it will be necessary sooner or later to add to the taxation of India. If a deficit is temporarily met by borrowing the money which will have to be provided to meet the interest on the loan must ultimately increase the deficit, which will have to be met by increased taxation of India"; and in the fifth place, "There has already been a most serious increase in the indebtedness of India amounting in twenty years to 100 per cent.' Now Mr. Fawcett does not at all, in what he has laid down in these conclusions, say that no expenditure should be incurred in the right direction; because he goes on to assent to this principle laid down in the despatch to the Government of India in which Lord Salisbury reviewed the Budget of 1874, in which he declared it to be indispensable that none but works likely to prove remunerative should be constructed from borrowed money; and he insisted with the utmost emphasis that the money required for their construction should be obtained by loans raised in India and not in England. Then, gentlemen, I come to this important passage: 'I trust it will not be thought that I underrate the difficulties which will have to be encountered in carrying out a policy of rigid economy in the administration of Indian finance. Many who, until quite lately, always spoke of India as a country which could

scarcely be administered' on too liberal a scale, are now going to the opposite extreme, and express the most alarmist views as to her future financial position. In some of the leading English journals scarcely a week elapses without reference being made to the hopeless embarrassment of the finances of India, and her future insolvency is alluded to, as if it could not be averted. Although I do not share those desponding views, yet it must be evident that unless something is properly done, the financial conditon of India will indeed soon become one of hopeless embarrassment. It is not more certain that a stone, if it is not checked in its fall, will gather increased momentum, than it is that the system which is now to receive the greatest development, of perpetually adding to the indebtedness of India, will, if it is not arrested, soon burden her with charges which she will be powerless to meet. The simple truth cannot be too persistently insisted upon that India throughout every department has of late years been too expensively governed." Then, gentlemen, I find this—and this is very remarkable passage because it shows the extreme fairness in political controversy, which, I believe, has characterized Mr. Fawcett all along, and it is but the honour which is due to his memory:—'As I have had occasion to express strong dissent from many acts of the present Viceroy, I more gladly take this opportunity of bearing testimony to the efforts which he is understood to have made during the whole time he has been in India to secure a larger employment of natives in the public service. In pursuing this course it will, I believe, be subsequently proved that Lord Lytton has acted with not less wisdom than justice.' And now, gentlemen, I finally come to this passage: 'Hitherto it has unfortunately too frequently happened that the influence of the House of Commons has, with regard to the expenditure of Indian money, been on the side of extravagance. But Parliament [illegible] opinion of the constituencies, and the humblest elector may help on the work which [illegible] done, if, awakening to the responsibility which every Englishman owes to the [illegible] we have to govern, he makes it clear that it is his wish that no charge [illegible] to be borne by England should be thrown upon India, and that the [illegible] should be watched with at least as much care as the spending of English money. It was [illegible] well said that, in politics, as in other affairs, the difficulty of [illegible] unfrequently the measure of the good which its accomplishment [illegible] true with regard to the reform of the finances of India.' Gentlemen, [illegible] passages we have a programme of Indian Government which [illegible] to what good conclusions Mr. Fawcett had come although [illegible] India. (Applause.) Rigorous economy he preached, [illegible] enforced by getting the conscience of the English people [illegible] he was an advocate of an inquiry into the whole [illegible] Now, no greater tribute could have been paid to Mr. [illegible] for at one time, and what was then refused, [illegible] modified form by the financial committee of the [illegible] belonging to the opposite party." (Applause.)

We may all acquiesce—and [illegible] of the course pursued by Fawcett, though [illegible] views we may somewhat [illegible] ples he followed the [illegible]

bounds of precision to maintain that the military expenditure is excessive. It is excessive in that a good portion of it does not properly serve its object and is wasteful. Should it be the same amount as now while the revenues are not tampered with, but are constitutionally rectifi and augmented, this military expenditure could not fairly be condemne indeed it will have to be kept up and approved of by the wisest and mo far-seeing statesmen. If the revenues are inelastic, it is the fitful unpri cipled management of them which have made them so. Whether th military expenditure is out of proportion to the present revenues or n —and we may maintain that it is—it would be suicidal to reduce it excej in its unfair burden upon India. Your home expenses may be irregula and extravagant, and you may not be capable of utilizing all the resource of your revenues to keep up your expenses, but the dacoits who may hav an eye upon your house will not fail to pillage it if you fail to keep i always fortified. Look to this necessity first, and then see how you expenses could be reduced and your revenues increased. Mr. Fawcett rightly stated that though Parliamentary traditions were indifferent in respect of the extravagant Indian expenditures, it was the duty of the Electors to insist upon the Indian money being as carefully spent as if it was their own money. And how are the Electors of Great Britain or its great moving mass to be brought up in consistency with such essential and noble mission? As we have often and often pointed out to the patriots at Bombay and elsewhere: let a daily agitation be set on foot in England through a powerful and well-supported daily organ to be published in London, and which may be named *The Sun*, or *the Light from the East*. It must be understood that a national feeling will have to be created in Great Britain in the interests of its Eastern Empire before India may expect to have a fair and full hearing from its Rulers. Lord Reay did well in testifying to the impartial judgment of Fawcett which was evidenced in his frank declaration that Lord Lytton, during his Indian regime, did much to advance the natives of India in the public services of their country. We have differed from many native writers in India in maintaining that the concession made by Lord Lytton's government in creating the institution for Statutory Civilians is one which we should try to get enforced as largely as possible as being an extensive field of service next to the Civil for which, again, we cannot do better than compete in the land of the highest freedom and enlightenment.

Our talented and highly accomplished Governor explained how Fawcett was not only a warm and sympathetic friend of India, but also a benefactor in England. His study of political economy was most practical and had a living interest in it—in that he was earnestly engaged in laying the foundation for raising national capital in England by providing Post Office Banks for investing the savings of the people. Lord Reay pointed out that France was able to cope with great disasters on account of its national thriftiness which the people of England have not; and Fawcett as Post-Master-General proved a benefactor in this direction. As a counterpart of this national feature of England, what is it which we have ourselves insisted upon being effected for India? The people's individual wealth in the country being very small, we have respectfully called upon the Government to induce them to bring out their money-stock, whatever it be, by issuing, say, five rupees shares in connection with railway and other public works enterprize to be launched in India. We have further contended that the habit of considering a few hundred thousand pounds as annual surplus for such a magnificent empire as India should not be made much of, but that the permanent reserve fund for India should be no less than a fifty crores at least, so that we may not tread on the brink of national insolvency as soon as a great calamity, or an impoverished industrial policy threatened India.

Mr. Fawcett, as Lord Reay told the Bombay meeting, used to be unshaking in his convictions as he was in respect of the Irish Education Commission in which he "like Sir Lyon Playfair, whose opinion was "entitled to consideration, took rather a centralized view of educa-"tional matters, a view which I do not share, and therefore the tri-"bute I pay Mr. Fawcett on that account is as impartial as it is complete. "The other occasion was when he took a view about proportionate re-"presentation which, I believe, in this country has many adherents. In "the case of the Municipality of Poona I was very glad to be able to grant "*the privilege which was granted, and in which the leaders of Municipal* "government in Poona asked to be allowed to follow the footsteps of the "great Indian master, Mr. Fawcett. (Applause.) In that respect, again, I "consider you have paid a most remarkable tribute to his memory and "in doing and following his precepts."

His Excellency, before closing his characteristic speech which does *him* as much credit as a statesman as it places in happy relief the real character

of Fawcett, alluded to his life-long sadness caused by his blindness which was, again, brought about by an accident at the hands of his own father. That very blindness stimulated him to life-long noble actions of perseverance and unselfish devotion to the interests of those who were not so capable as himself. Lord Reay stated that Mrs. Fawcett became so sympathetic a co-sharer in his patriotic labors that she made him very much forget his personal affliction, and His "Excellency told his audience "that you will agree with me that you may apply to Mr. Fawcett "beautiful lines which appear in Dante :—

> "Love never supposed my worthless part,
> But of his own great heart
> Vouchsafed to me of love so calm and sweet,
> That if I heard folks question as I went
> What such gladness meant,
> As one they speak of behind me in the street."

We only hope that the Bombay movement in honor of Mr. Fawcett may prove successful, for, as the drift of Lord Reay's final observations implied, the future good of India and England would, in a remarkable measure, depend on the ready manner in which statesmen of strong understanding, of delicate conscience, and large heart are appreciated by the people of both countries, and their great and good measures for public amelioration followed by them.—*27th September*, 1885.

PART VIII.

ABOUT WOMAN KIND IN INDIA.

Lady Dufferin's National Fund in India.

The Countess of Dufferin has identified herself with a humane work, the memory of which will never be effaced from India. With a charitable and humble impulse which adorns the high station which she holds by the side of our able Viceroy, Her Excellency asks the princes and people of India to raise an institution in centres of Indian populations which may be able to afford medical relief to women in India through female medical practitioners and female hospitals. The Countess has taken timely opportunity for sounding the popular instincts throughout British and Native India, and they might all in course of time respond to her urgent call so gracefully made. She thinks the times is come when every important town in India should be provided with medical relief for females through female medical agency. Female physicians, female hospitals and female colleges, though a novel institution in India, have their germs sown in India already—though in very few of its centres indeed. Through the exertions of one of its enlightened, public-spirited and highly esteemed citizens, Mr. S. S. Bengali, C.I.E., Bombay has recently got two lady doctors and has already secured certain funds for starting a female hospital. The Hon'ble Mrs. Duff, the good and active wife of the Governor of Madras, has lately founded a female hospital in that town. In Calcutta, the Maharani Surnomai has founded a School for bringing up female doctors and nurses. At Lahore, arrangements are in progress for the opening of a female hospital to be directed by lady doctors. Some of the missionary societies in the North-West Provinces and Oude have established missions and dispensaries which are yearly growing in popularity with female population. Besides the hopeful work already done by the Bombay lady physicians, as Mrs. Sorabji and his worthy [illegible] colleagues have already informed us in an interesting [illegible] some time ago, it gives us pleasure to notice the labours of Miss Seward, M. D., at Allahabad, of Miss [illegible] at [illegible], and Misses [illegible] and [illegible] at Lucknow.

It will thus appear that in respect [illegible] [illegible] India is yet [illegible]

made in respect of female medical advice and instruction. Each of the numerous towns and cities of India have thousands of women either poor, or of more or less status, who silently suffer from many physical pain, and perhaps meet with premature deaths, simply because from a sense of shame and delicacy they would neither open their lips to, or receive any treatment from, male doctors! Many have not even the intelligence to describe the diseases from which they suffer! Alas for the unknown sufferings of millions of female populations of India who hold themselves back from freely speaking or submitting to the treatment of male doctors. No argument is, therefore, needed to show that the Countess of Dufferin's Indian Fund aims at supplying one of our direst national wants. Every province, every city, every town, every State, and every village is now suffering from want of female medical advice. It is thus pleasing to note the early benevolent activity displayed by the Countess, who by her personal labor and philanthrophy has at once imparted an impetus to the movement which ought to stop only when it has run out its full course. Several Chiefs have largely contributed to the proposed funds. And we have the gratifying duty to-day to ask the princes and the people who may hear of this fund to dispense with all ceremony and gladden the heart of the Noble Countess by forwarding to her direct the sums they could spare for early making the Fund a living organism. What we should desire and suggest is, let the Countess of Dufferin's Fund be founded in every centre of the Indian population which can subscribe sufficiently towards the object. For instance, Bombay may have its own "Lady Dufferin's Fund;" Rajcote, Cutch-Mandvie, Nadode, Dhurumpore, Kolhapore, or Baroda, as further instances, may have their own funds as started by the principal Lady of India for the real welfare of her innumerable Asiatic sisters, whom she cordially loves, and in whose progress and happiness she must be so much interested as Her Majesty's fair representative in India. Should our suggestion be deemed feasible, let there be in every principal station of India a ladies' sub-committee composed of the female relatives of officials and non-officials of all castes, who should carry out the directions of the principal Committee of Ladies which the Countess may be pleased to organize at Simla or Calcutta. Of course gentlemen also—whether Natives or Europeans—must be as warmly interested in the project as would be their ladies. It is a great political

and social object to bring together European and Native ladies. They ought to have a close knowledge of each other, and as we hold the British a parmanent community in India, both Native and English communities should always be disposed to create new ties of active friendship and sympathy—the very best example of which we find in the movement under notice. We do not know why European ladies, young and old, living in any station in India, should not spend a little time in conference and work with such native ladies as they can surely bring out in the sphere of humane activity or reciprocal good will and friendliness. We humbly lay before the mothers, wives and sisters of our European brethren residing in the towns, cities, and sanitariums of India, the example of love and charity which the highest, the best cultured and the most patriotic Lady in India has placed before them. Oh, fair *creatures from the West! You who have some mission, and that a* gracious and joyous one, however delicate and difficult, to perform in India, side by side with your fathers, brothers, uncles, and husbands, do not for the sake of the Christian religion, if for nothing else, think that you come to India merely in search of a bachelor's field, or to while away your heavy time in gossips, balls, lawn-tennis, and dinner parties. With many admirable, uselfish and tender-hearted, cultured ladies whom we are lucky enough to have in India, we are at a loss to know why native society and native ladies should be looked down by our worthy madam sahebs and their lords. The fact is that high examples are rarely set as now done so heartily by the wife of our Viceroy, and our English, Scotch and Irish ladies enervated by climate and too pleasant and easy associations are generally indisposed to reveal the milder and more unselfish part of their nature. We have ever stood in need of some social union between Europeans and Natives, but a quarter of a century hence it will surprise many why European ladies, coming out to India with the object of making it their comfortable home at least for some years, should not act by their adopted country in the same spirit of high breeding, philanthrophy and self-abnegation which the Countess seems capable of.

Ladies' committees for raising the funds spread all over India will be greatly instrumental in rapid and satisfactory collections for the funds. Both officials and non-officials will thus be greatly aided by such local committees in getting up every available resource both for supplying lady doctors and nurses, as well as medical schools and c[illegible]

Native and European ladies in the professions under notice. If the movement takes hold of the Indian mind a very grateful occupation will have been opened for native women in India, and the demand for native female physicians and nurses will always be on the increase. We should, therefore, very much like to see an abiding interest created for the movement. We call upon not only native princes and gentry but large and small officials also to be warmly interested in the noble cause which the Countess of Dufferin has taken up quite in time to enable her to see it executed before she leaves India.—*2nd August*, 1885.

The progress of the National Movement.

I have already published a translation of the prospectus issued by Lady Reay in response to the National Fund started by the Countess of Dufferin at Calcutta. Below is the original prospectus of Her Excellency :—

"Her Excellency Lady Reay has undertaken to form a Bombay branch of the above National Association. In taking this step Lady Reay is aware that she is but associating herself with good work already begun long before she had the honour of being connected with the Bombay Presidency. Her efforts will be used to continue that work, started by generous-minded and munificent citizens of Bombay, always in the forefront of the practical and enlightened benefactors to their generation. All contributions to Lady Reay's Bombay Fund will be devoted to the needs of the Presidency of Bombay alone, and will be administered by a small working Committee of which Lady Reay will be President. The names of the members of this Committee will be published hereafter, as also a list of donations. Lady Reay gratefully acknowledges the promises of help which have already been given to her. Sums above 5 Rupees will be received by the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China, for the Bombay branch of the National Association for supplying female medical aid to the women of India."

Like Lady Reay, the wife of each of the Indian Governors has consented to start a fund, in affiliation with the parent fund, which the Countess of Dufferin has now formally and graciously announced to preside over at Calcutta. Her Gracious Majesty the Queen has telegraphed to become the patron of the Countess's undertaking. A function somewhat similar has been very properly—and with forethought—assumed by the ruling Viceroy of India. He has been followed by all his able Lieutenants—their Excellencies the Right Hon. Grant Duff, C.I.E., the Right Hon. Lord Reay, C.I.E., the Hon. Sir C. Aitchison, K.C.S.I., the Hon. Sir A. Lyall, K.C.B., and the Hon. Sir A. Rivers Thompson, K.C.S.I. All the Governors have consented to become Vice-Patrons.

It gives me much gratification to notice for general guidance in our Presidency the exhaustive prospectus issued under the orders of Her

Excellency the Countess of Dufferin. As stated at the outset, private and sectarian efforts to a small extent have been made for supplying female medical aid to the women of India. But it is like an oasis in the vast desert. "A large and sustained effort of an unsectarian and national character .... to organize and stimulate female medical education and to provide facilities for the treatment of native women by women" being entirely absent, what untold miseries and loss of life are caused to womanhood in India! And this is the want to supply which "the National Association is proposed to be founded":

It is proposed to supplement the foregoing list by the names of other persons of position and influence, both English and Indian, who may be specially invited by the Executive body to become Vice-Patrons and Vice-Patronesses of the Association.

Members will be—

(a) Life Councillors;
(b) Life Members;
(c) Ordinary Members.

All donors of the amount of Rs. 5,000 or upwards will be considered Life Councillors; all donors of Rs. 500 or upwards will be Life Members. Ordinary Members will pay an entrance fee of Rs. 10. The minimum annual subscription of an ordinary Member will be Rs. 5, but donations of any smaller sum will be duly acknowledged.

All subscriptions and donations contributed to the National Association will be credited to a fund to be called "The Countess of Dufferin's Fund," to be managed by a Central and by the Branch Committees as hereafter explained.

The Countess has applied the best and the most commendable test to those who desire to be identified with the fund. We have no doubt that the efforts, when properly made throughout the presidencies, will be richly rewarded. When it is said that donations even lower than Rs. 5—"the minimum annual subscription of an ordinary member"—will be received and duly acknowledged, then let us call upon every native community and each of its members to comply with the call made now and intended for any special domestic occasion when they contribute their mite to useful and religious objects. Let every one of our readers—whether he be a boy or an adult, male or female—beware that the Countess directs practical attack against one of the worst social cankers of native life in India. Who will not give his or her mite at once and on every future suitable occasion? Let the Countess' fund be treated like any Punchayet's fund—be it for temp[illegible] for Dharams[illegible] for the helpless, or for the feasting "wadys." [illegible] er, wh[illegible] [illegible]glish or vernacular, ought to seek to nati[illegible]

Whatever funds that may be collected by the Local Committees are t be absolutely at their disposal. But these Branch Committees will alway correspond with the Central Committee and supply them with full state ments and information with reference to their operations, so that certain degree of uniformity may be secured for the working and develop ment of the institutions contemplated. The Central Fund will be a liberty to contribute to the funds of any Committee, or start or assis projects in any part of the country. The Central Committee will als "specially endeavour to assist any ruling Chiefs who may desire to orga "nize similar operations within their own territories, and who may seel "the advice and aid of the National Association." We trust many Nativ States will come forward to accept this important offer.

The accounts and reports of the Branch Committees will all be published under the authority of the Central Committee. This is a necessary step to ensure a vigorous and combined action in all British India. The India of Native Chiefs will undoubtedly emulate the good example set to them.

It is interesting to note that a full meeting will be convened at Calcutta in the next cold weather when all the Branch Committees are expected to be fully represented there.

The following provisions from the prospectus explain the objects which the National Association is formed to promote :—

I.—*Medical tuition*: including the teaching and training in India of women as doctors, hospital assistants, nurses and midwives.

II.—*Medical relief*: including (*a*) the establishment, under female superintendence, of dispensaries and cottage hospitals for the treatment of women and children; (*b*) the opening of female wards under female superintendence in existing hospitals and dispensaries; (*c*) the provision of female medical officers and attendants for existing female wards; (*d*) and the founding of hospitals for women where special funds or endowments are forthcoming.

III.—*The supply of trained female nurses and midwives*: for women and children in hospitals and private houses.

To carry out these objects, it will be necessary to provide scholarships for women under tuition or training, to give grants-in-aid to institutions that provide satisfactorily for the medical training of women, and to procure in the first instance from Europe or America a sufficient number of skilled medical women of adequate salaries. In time it may be hoped that the Indian female medical schools will furnish what is required. The Central Committee will undertake to engage competent medical women for the charge of female medical schools and wards if desired to do so by the Branches or affiliated Societies, but will make it their special care to supply the wants of those places which are outside the sphere of any such local organizations.

The National Association will have to rely largely upon the good-will and support of the Government and its medical officers to enable them to give effect to the scheme. And all persons employed by the Association will be expected, as a condition of their appointment, to work in harmony with, and where necessary in subordination to, the medical officers of Government.

We would venture to bring to the notice of the Central and Branch Committees one important fact that in every town in India there are found midwives, *vaeeds* and *hakims* of indigenous character, who have extensive experience of the diseases and pains to which women in India are subject. In their own crude way they rightly appreciate the peculiar diseases and disorders, and too often succeed in curing them. We would desire that these medical agents—both males and females—ready at hand should be fully utilized both in tuition and treatment of female and child patients. Before a large number of female doctors, assistants and nurses could be brought up, this experienced agency, however crude, ought to be fully utilized in every direction controlled by the Committees. The regularly trained female doctors and nurses ought to be fully assisted by this agency, and they will thus not only obtain much practical insight, but will also be able to go through a good deal of useful business with the aid of the *daees*, *hakims*, &c. It is now generally admitted that the European trained agency cannot do better than study the system of medicines and treatment actually followed by the really reputed of these agents, and that the European system, pure and simple, is mischievous in various ways, though in certain cases it no doubt achieves wonders. We trust the Committees will be able to have the medical *shastras* of old fully published for the information of the medical faculty of India. These should be published in English and the vernaculars with full commentaries by those of the medical agents who have fully tried both systems in a long course of practice. It would be very desirable to organize a separate Committee of experienced English doctors and famous *hakims*, *vaeeds* and *daees* to compare notes of experience, with a view to organize medical science for India. We are now only following blindly an exotic system, which in many cases commit great mischiefs with the lives and health of Her Majesty's subjects.

We are very much gratified to observe that the Countess will herself direct the operations of the Chief Committee, and that the Presi[illegible]tial Committees are already headed by European l[illegible] ar[illegible]ts

as respectfully suggested in my previous paper. We now trust that the wives and female relatives of Commissioners, Collectors and Judges, as also those of other Anglo-Indians, will assist Lady Reay and other Lady Vice-Presidents in obtaining sufficient funds for starting the movement in principal parts of India. As we hinted some time ago lady members should also be drawn from the cultivated and aristocratic native families. We have already explained the merits of such social female combinations in India. It is highly desirable that now that European ladies have identified themselves with this most significant and humane project, they will endeavour to enlist the sympathies of Durbar Queens and ladies, as also the enlightened or sensible ladies of influential natives. Through them the Lady Vice-Presidents and their representatives in the districts will be able to do much, learn much, and strengthen the resources calculated to act upon the *zenanas* and the ordinary womanhood of India. It would be unseemly on the part of native sovereignties and native aristocracy of sorts, if their ladies are not put forward to practically help the various objects of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund. The good and gracious Lady so deservedly at the head of female society in India should be made to feel in a short time that she has many humble sisters in the country who would only consider it their pleasant and bounden duty to join Her Excellency's exceedingly useful, interesting and charitable movement. As I have already recorded the satisfactory progress made since I last noticed the movement, I hope to continue in the same direction for a long time to come.—*30th August*, 1885.

The Countess of Dufferin's Stewardship of the Indian Women.

An English lady personally initiating and carrying out a patriotic and humane work in India for the benefit of the womanly masses is a circumstance which has not been hitherto noticed in the annals of Hindustan. Not even a European administrator has yet undertaken a beneficent work of this stupendous character. Our English conquerors have never been able to sympathize with the complete character and failings of the people, and have thus only touched the fringe of the national evils and depressions existing in India. Our countrymen have themselves not cared to cast off their immoveable patience, conservatism and lethargy. To this may be partly attributed the slow progress made by European rulers in a thorough mastery of the sentiments, traits and condition of their subjects.

At last we have been visited with a fair and happy messenger from the far West, and that messenger belongs to the kindlier and nobler of the two sexes—an embodiment of the Empress herself. As some tribute to the painstaking and widespread exertions of the Countess of Dufferin—whom we may aptly term the Viceregal Queen of India—we may record this event as denoting a new era in the history of India, fraught with important conditions for the social welfare of the native communities. The value of the national example set by the Countess cannot be too widely known, nor too much estimated. It forcibly reminds every important ruler and his wife that they could do much which lie beyond the precincts of inveterate officialism, and that a more disinterested, and therefore much nobler, work if followed and multiplied for a quarter of a century, will bear fruits more profuse and more endearing to the Empress and the British people than their accumulated conquests in the Indian Continent up to date. And it is this singular initiative of momentous consequences which will be permanently associated with the noble wife of the present Viceroy which we have thought fit especially to notice. This time it is the Countess herself who has come forward in a manner that should please all native India in duly laying before the public an account of the progress of the national female medical movement in India, which is as full and able as it is modest and interesting. Her Ladyship delivers this account in the pages of the new *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, of which we desire to give here a short running review.

Our interest is moved by the very preamble which heads the Countess' account of the endeavours of real womanly pains and grace which she has put forward in the cause of India :—

"The little account which I now propose to give of the National Association for supplying female medical aid to the women of India is not a record of work achieved. The Association is in its infancy, and has as yet founded no hospitals, endowed no institutions, trained no doctors ; it has merely announced its existence, organised its constitution, formulated its aspirations, and received and laid by for the moment the money subscribed by its well-wishers ; but as it has met with a very warm reception in India, and as many, both here and in England, who are interested in the subject, have no means of learning more about the Association than is conveyed to them by its name, I think it may be agreeable to them, and useful to the Association, if I endeavour to give details with regard to its origin, its organization, its aim and intentions, its special difficulties, and its future prospects."

When the Countess left England Her Most Gracious Majesty asked her to take a practical interest in the subject. All the inquiries of the

Countess convinced her that millions of women in India were suffering o the hands of ignorant midwives, and yet it may be said that the hundred of trained and scientific creatures who will happily issue from the system now being established by the Countess all over India should be placed in position to know all which the indigenous midwives know of India women by traditions and practice. We already know what useful an cordial response has Mrs. Grant Duff, Lady Reay, Lady Aitchison and Lad Lyall given to her Excellency in answer to her appeal to start universa funds and universal associations to bring up native women as doctor and nurses, and have women-patients treated by female agencies in specia wards, dispensaries and hospitals. The Countess rightly contests th legitimacy of the objections advanced against her scheme, one of which i that the relief in question is not needed since women are attended to by male doctors. Our own experience says that, in almost all instances, male doctors are unable to make very essential examinations, and that in numerou instances the *gosha* system prevents them even from facing their femal patients. Such a conservatism, however, is now becoming obsolete, and all casts and creeds have begun to feel that the female-sick should be as completely attended to as the male-sick. Thousands and hundreds of thousands ought to bless the Countess when regularly trained female doctors and nurses become a household word in India. With what shame should unfeeling natives hear this remark, however kindly put by the Countess :—

"I do not think, however, that as a rule men deny themselves medical advice ; and I have even heard it whispered occasionally, that a man thinks a good deal of his own little aches and pains, and can be somewhat nervous over an unaccustomed twinge. This may be a libel ; but it is true that in India, as elsewhere, men have all that they require in the way of medical advice, while the women here have not, and the object of this scheme is to remedy an accidental injustice."

Though those who have started the fund may be termed "merely birds of passage here," the Countess has given such rich promise to effect a really national work that we may be excused for not quite agreeing with her that it should be taken entirely out of official hands. Full national support can only be derived if the present active official cognizance continues ; and the Countess need not for a moment feel herself discouraged that her movement should be suspected as being official. Really speaking it is not so ; it is as it should be.

Branches of the Central Committee have been already formed at Madras, Bombay, the Punjaub, the North-Western Provinces, Burmah, the Central Provinces, Bengal and Mysore. The Countess well says that

her first object is to secure a large supply of native female doctors and nurses by spreading medical tuition all over the country, for she would have India to use foreign female physicians, &c., only as supplimentary to the main number brought up *in* India. The Countess is as anxious to establish female medical schools as to provide the fullest relief to females by having dispensaries and hospitals opened under female supervision and securing the services of ever and ever increasing number of female officers and nurses. She has also contrived to get special endowments for establishing hospitals and wards; for the Central Fund, though adequate for general ministerial purposes, would only be "one capacious mouthful for a single large hospital." As we have already suggested unless the little symbol, in every district, of the Countess—whether she is a European, Native, or Eurasian—personally interests herself, not many districts in India will be supplied with female dispensaries, hospitals, wards, and even female midwives, nurses and physicians for private houses. Every little administrator ought to take up the hint thrown out by the Countess, and we are sure he and his wife and family will ever dwell in the hearts of the people. How considerate is it for the Countess to express so safe and assuring an aim as the following :—

"I may now glance at the special difficulties which are met with in starting this particular work in India. In setting before ourselves the task of carrying a great reform into the very inmost homes of the people, we are anxious scrupulously to respect their own wishes and their own religion, and even their own less sacred opinions and prejudices. We wish to force nothing upon *them and to suggest nothing which can do violence to their feelings, or which can be said to temper* in the very slightest degree with the seclusion and the privacy in which Oriental women live."

The Countess well warns others not to make light of the difficulty of the undertaking arising from every custom of the country. It is not a *country so small as Ireland to be served; it is equal to the whole of* Europe with numerous diversities. Men of the country are thus asked to lend their strong right arm to carry the undertaking through, and "aid "us with the special knowledge required to do so successfully warning us "*when we tread on dangerous ground and showing us how to make our* "efforts most effectual." Should any one think the undertaking to be all plain sailing, the Countess is too deeply aware of many difficulties not to take him as blissfully ignorant just as "the not uncommon individual "who *vaguely says to a friend: I am going to spend a year in India,* "what sort of clothes shall I require without ever stating w[illegible] he is "bound for the highest peak of Simla, or for th[illegible]

the national funds in aiding the dispensaries started by missionary societies and the female doctors employed by them. Though they are popular among the natives and have done much good to them with singular disinterestedness, the Countess will not countenance anything that is sectarian, for, as her Ladyship says, "we are bound in honor to use "the money subscribed on the faith of our unsectarian principles, in such "a way as to satisfy the most exacting critic." The Committee has, however, wisely decided to give an assistant for acquiring practical proficiency under a missionary doctor, whose sole duty would be medical.

Since the promulgation of the Countess' scheme her treasury has received subscriptions amounting to £30,000. This total has been reached in a few months, but in this case money does not by any means represent the general interest in the scheme, or the work done since its promulgation. The Countess says in her masterly paper under review :

"A few examples will illustrate my meaning. The Maharajah of Ulwar has started a dispensary under female supervision, and has given two scholarships, the Maharajah of Durbhanga has asked me to lay the foundation-stone of another which he is about to build ; a third is to be established by Rai Badyanath Pundit Bahadur at Cuttack ; female wards have been promised to Lady Lyall for the Agra College, which will each bear the name of its donor ; at Delhi the Municipality intend to build a female ward and to place it under a lady doctor ; several scholarships have been given by Sir Walter DeSouza ; and all this, and much more, has been done without touching the Central or any Branch Fund ; moreover, I sincerely hope to see the Municipality and the Local Boards showing increased interest in the question, each one doing something substantial for the benefit of the women within their jurisdiction. Through them really rapid advances might be made, and a permanent and self-sustaining character would be given to the work."

The Countess has hit upon an excellent plan to employ the not considerable funds at her disposal with the greatest advantage to the country. The Agra Medical College, very poor for want of funds, is to be taken up in hand at once, and what is still more cheering and interesting, a *model training school* will be *started at Jubbulpore which shall* be entirely under female supervision, strictly *purda* in its arrangements, and to which it is hoped girls of good caste from the Independent States may be induced to go for medical education. At both these places it will be necessary to establish *female hospitals*, and the Central Committee looks forward trustfully to the day when "special funds" may be forthcoming to build them. The Countess has thus la[illegible] the foundation work for a vital, humane, and [illegible] for the femalehood of India. We [illegible]

for women so legitimate and so blessed as the one for which the Coun has nobly struggled and will struggle on till the great work can be sai have been earnestly commenced throughout the country. What he woes, what pinching adversities, what profligate idleness and distress dependency will be removed from the lot of Indian women, if Ladyship's spirit spreads in the country.

The Countess has devoted an exceedingly interesting passage to present character of Indian midwives and their future prospects under regulations. Her Ladyship would employ the funds in increasing number of trained midwives, which are now counted only on fingers, also imparting a rough training to as many existing ones as can be broug into the merciful folds of the Empress and her worthy co-adjutor in t far East. The Countess' efforts have indirectly led to the propos establishment of the lying-in hospitals for Parsi women at Bombay. Tl Countess hopes—"We may find some means of giving midwives even "little education, for although I fully appreciate a well-trained and firs "rate nurse, yet I think that when a midwife is so bad as to jump upo "her patient by way of accelerating her recovery after her confinemen "then the training sufficient to teach such a practitioner to leave th "woman alone would be extremely desirable even if it went no furthe "The above represents a system and is not an isolated case; it gives som "idea of the terrible incapacity of the ordinary midwife, and of the grea "necessity there is to improve her, and it explains why I advocate doin "all we can with the material that we have at hand, ignorant and pre "judiced though it be. If we wait until our candidates can read an "write and do arithmetic, and undergo a two years' professional cours "of study, we shall be postponing the general good longer than i "necessary. In this case '*le mieux est l'ennemi, du bien*' we must no "refuse to improve because we want to perfect; we must be conten "with a midwife who does no active harm for the present, hopin "with time to license only those who are really well qualified fo "the post."

As a further development of the Countess' plan, it would be essential to distinguish the good indigenous midwives from the bad ones. There are most successful and most trusted and experienced midwives, and it is a great pity that their native uncontaminated art, replete with balmy treatment and motherly cures, under dangerous and complicated conditions,

has not yet been mastered and produced in the form of a practical treatise also embodying the hints of trained and experienced physicians. The new midwifery science will have to be filtered through the real elements above indicated. The midwife should eminently be a mixed creature as strong in the knowledge of prevailing practices as of the highly developed theories imported from the West. Nothing, again, can be so effectual as establishing numerous lying-in hospitals where all sorts of midwives could have *full* practical play.

The limits of space here will not permit me to dwell longer on the very valuable paper of the Countess, which she has done well in placing before people who must learn her intentions and plans fully before they could properly follow her in her praiseworthy action. We shall, therefore, close this with one more interesting extract. Gently and modestly was the paper started, and likewise, so nicely and beautifully, her Ladyship concludes it :—

"I trust that a feeling of kindness and good-will may be generated by an association which has been started by women for the benefit of their own sex, but which should appeal to the best feeling of the men of this country. We have met with much encouragement so far, but we realize that the work we have in hand will require many years of faithful endeavour to bring it to a successful issue. We know that we must begin it gently and, having sown the seed, must tend it with patience and perseverance, feeling grateful and hopeful as each green leaf appears giving promise of a future abundant harvest."—*30th May*, 1886.

Parsi Women.

The question if a modern Parsi woman has benefited herself by sharing in the civilization of the time, or whether she has been able to share in it in a manner she ought to, has been started very much like a pastime, and is thus fast passing into oblivion. The Parsi girl, or the grown-up matron, whoever of that fair tribe that was exercised in the course of the discussion credited to the leading journal in Bombay, who placed the thunderbolt in the midst of a not particularly *apathetic society, may once more lull herself into her usual condition of* indulging in love and affection with those in need of that article, or right*ing the affairs of her household, which has a perpetual tendency of getting* out of order, or pestering the father or husband to go in for the newest fashion in the way of dress or trinkets, or cogitating on the best mode in which she could please her fancies, or feed her desire to appear most forward in society, or even to render her house the most [illegible] or the source of support and happiness to the largest p[illegible]es

and dependents. In spite of Mr. Ginwala of Broach starting from a dee sleep to open the eyes of paterfamilias to the dangers of leading the girl into the abyss of flirtation and numberless other superficialities, Mis Shireenbai or Banubai, or even the elderly Sunabai, is not likely to b much dissuaded from the standard of life which she has adopted as abou the best that could be adopted.

The Parsi society exists in sufficient variety to serve as checks and counter-checks in the circle of its variously opposed numerous sections. Many Parsi families, males and females all put together, are strict adherents to every religious doctrine practised in that house for centuries. Faithful to the costumes of their ancestors, the orthodox fashion is still rampant in the ways of eating, drinking, marrying, subordination to elders, or in respect of female chastity, self-abnegation, or reticence. Whether it is the aged, revered mother, the darling daughter, or the beloved wife, supreme in the house, she thinks it her cheerful duty to reserve the richest food, or surrender the best convenience, to the father, brother, or husband in the household. If my Sorabji is happy, all of us would be happy; if he has comforts and we have none, it doesn't matter, we feel ourselves comfor able. Oh Sorabji, take any happiness that is ours, and add to yours. Oh yo pains may banish, and let them come to us. May our existence be lessene and added to that of my Sorabji. God forbid ! has the deuced demon death shadowed himself to Sorabji ? Oh monster, take me away i his stead; let *him* live, and let *me* die, a hundred deaths for him. Th will Khurshedbai earnestly plead to her Creator for her father, brother, husband. She will take the most difficult vows, or arrange the mo expensive religious ceremonies for his safety at home or abroad. To resto herself to his love, she will not leave a stone unturned ; till then the wor is a living hell to her. The same spirit of constancy and helplessne makes a daughter-in-law yield to the exactions of a mother-in-law. A orthodox Parsi woman will even sacrifice her own personal peace and com fort, and keep peace with the latter for the sake of her husband and childre Not unfrequently she works like a slave in the house. Whose prayer i more constant and sincere than either the mother's, wife's, or the sister' for an early and prosperous return of her Jamshedji ? The spirit of a Pars woman which will lead her to suicide, if her Jamshedji were drowned, o dead abroad and his face not seen by her before his death, prompts he

disease, ruin, or disgrace, to let him celebrate the marriages of his daughters and sons and witness the rapid multiplication of his offsprings, and, last of all, to let him have an opportunity of carrying his old mother's dead body to the tower of silence—the mother who is eaten away with cares and griefs for her sons and their progenies. The Parsi woman is as much solicitous for the welfare of her living father, brother, or husband, as when he is dead. She undergoes any amount of worry and expense in his spiritual welfare after death, and in celebrating his successive anniversaries. She is greatly pleased and proud when her father, or other senior relatives ornament her with rich clothings and valuable jewels; and she, generally, possesses the art of saving and accumulating for bad days with a thoroughness which her lord cannot attain. Though she is solicitous of the utmost harvesting in her house, she never forgets her needy relatives, or the demands of ever-recurring religious obligations, or the piteous supplications of the poor. She will not discard a bad husband, but will try to save him. She will not abandon a rascally son, but will pray for his reform and save him from harm's way. She will exercise the greatest patience and forbearance during the dark days of her lord. In distress, she is capable of exercising the most rigid economy, and it has often been a wonder with what little she rests satisfied as her physical support during the time of trial. Her accommodating temper serves her admirably in many other ways. She takes her tone from a father, brother, son, mother-in-law, or even a sister-in-law, with remarkable readiness and sagacity. Even the smallest creature in her father-in law's house—the pet and spoilt one of all—she yields to with instinctive ardor. She will suffer herself to be beat and abused by that little one, for he or she is the pet child of her father-in-law, or the dear plaything of her husband. She takes delight in looking after all the children at home—she becomes their general referee, and, in many respects, as useful to them as their own mother, or elderly sister. She feeds and bathes them, and sings the lullaby when they are troublesome in the night. If her mother-in-law is confined to bed owing to infirmity, and the boys and girls of the house are young, she takes the place of an elderly lady, and conducts the household affairs with care, fairness and energy. She rises early, keeps the house tidy, free of bad smells by burning perfumes regularly at morn and dusk, preserves the fire of the kitchen, keeps the account of clothes given to the washerman, pre[illegible] soup or light dishes herself for her invalid father-in-law [illegible]

a joyous heart before him the cleaned shining metal plates filled with sav dinner, the solicitude being repaid by him with expressions of hearty ble ings at which she is apt to be abashed, though, at the same time, feeli well rewarded for her tender care and kindness. The daughter-in-la amenable as she would be to the non-conservative ways of her husban retains sufficient conservatism to please her old-fashioned elders. S would regularly tell her prayers: she will devoutly bow to the sun, t moon and the stars, and worship the fire in the kitchen, and, while doi so, imploringly beg for the longevity of her elders and husband, on t existence of whom her own life and happiness depend, as she sincere believes. If not too much engrossed in English ways of living and thin ing, she would not only perform the *kusty* herself, but gently persuade h husband, if he has given it up, to do the same. One of the first thin she would do on leaving the bed would be the *kusty* prayer, and the bathe before touching any article in the house. Her semi-orthodo habits do not offend her too worldly or the modern-spirited husband, whil they serve to keep the household together, as between the old and th modern members. With her religio-conservative tendencies, she is not ou of her element when the ills and pleasures of her husband's business nee her sympathies. She has sufficient common-sense and moderation to appl to a reflection on matters in the town or the country, when these gai so far a publicity as to enter the limits of a household. It is remarkabl with what quiet shrewdness she would hit off the weak points of a controversy. Old gents in the house will more readily listen to what the sagacious daughter, or daughter-in-law, as the case may be, has to say on an agitated matter, and be inclined to treat with smile the outpourings offered by the enthusiastic and restless youth of the family. Such a woman not unfrequently becomes the safest guide of her husband in respect of the investment of his money: but for which guidance he would play at ducks and drakes with it.—11*th May*, 1884.

Higher Education for Native Ladies.

No modern man of culture ought to have the slightest doubt that really educated males of India, in their domestic concerns, are unhappy in proportion that their women at home are ignorant, or superstitious, or crazy, or passionate, unaffected by the mollifying features of broad knowledge and

humanity. The recent efforts of the Poona leaders and the Bombay Government to establish a High School for native girls rather serve to indicate the want of female education within this better, or narrowly defined, scope. The excellent Governor of Bombay was far-sighted when he said to the Poona Deputation the other day, that "probably other "places will be glad to wait until the great experiment being tried in "Poona is realised; and I hope by the time that other places are ready "with similar proofs of liberality and earnestness to ask the assistance of "Government that you will be able yourselves to dispense with as large a "measure of support." We select this passage prominently for the key it supplies to one important [illegible]. The obligations entailed by civilization on the extremely limited number of our leading men and the Government at large, with at best very limited resources, are daily increasing and complicated. H. E. the Governor, therefore correctly hinted that it was not likely that the movement was to be extended all at once.

Starting with this rather discouraging [illegible] will, nevertheless, be highly gratified at the [illegible] at Poona so admirably backed by the Government [illegible].

The difficulty in connection with carrying on the current expenses of the High School has, we believe, been removed by the [illegible] and magnanimous assent of the Governor to the proposal of the Deputation. The offers already made show that the required number of [illegible] scholarships will be coming in good time. But the greatest of the difficulties remain to be [illegible]. [illegible] tion of the High School? [illegible] of the constitution of the Boys' High School [illegible] from recognizing [illegible] educational [illegible] become [illegible] as would suit the varying [illegible] communities, [illegible] lower standard, [illegible] course [illegible] native ladies [illegible] to [illegible] their [illegible] nothing which a woman [illegible]

interests of her own kind. The higher education of females has its g features as well as bad or dangerous ones. In imparting to them as m of complicated literature and abstruse science and philosophy, the da of making them high-flown, or of a speculative turn of mind, is espec dangerous, considering the actual condition of native society. Li more than mere general elements of philosophy and science would for present be useful to them. For anything much more there will be neit time for their mastery as far as females are concerned, nor resou sufficient to utilize what we consider to be the cumbrous ornament education and culture in the present state of society. None of us w our women to be clerks, officials, merchants, chemists, manufacturers, mill-owners. Instead of training them up to acquire the highest ma for history, euclid, or any of the abstract sciences and philosophies, should like to see them passing as physicians, proficient as needle a embroidery workers, milliners, musicians, painters, poetesses, gardene female teachers and so on. Those females would be best adapted for hom whose mind and brains have not been over-wrought with general learni in their school age. For, then, they are removed far away from t realities of their own homes. The society is not prepared for such novel departure from the established state of things. The women higher education should be the conservative force at home and abroa and not the radical. They must bring in something to improve the con stitution of their homes on the lines of foundations already existing, an not on any other lines which cannot for the present be deeply drawn. B ll means everything should be taught to a female which may keep up th aying line inherited by her. If her mother dyes and prints cloth, o onstructs bangles, or prepares confectioneries, or follows gardening, sh ay have an improved knowledge of that art—special classes for any trad llowed by a large number of females in a place being attached to the Hig hool. Even a very poor home can tolerate a moderately learned lady wh , in after life, follow a paying art congenial to the fair sex. But a ver rned lady who would disdain to set her house in order, turn up her nose nything *gareeb*, old-fashioned, and troublesome at her house, and would er look to her toilets, or dip into books for long hours, than attend the enly children, mismanaged kitchen, or the family accounts turned into a , will hardly be a creature welcomed at any home—the richest or the est. She would be felt as a real white elephant—a refined paradesome

doll, an expensive luxury, and a squeamish *incongruity* in the midst of practical concerns about which the best is to be made, patiently and unselfishly. The first features of high education for native ladies should pertain to the management of home and training of children, and to social, moral and religious teachings at large. If by such education an educated lady can successfully bring up her children morally, intellectually, and physically ; if she can ensure peace, economy, contentment, healthy food and well-arranged house for her family ; and if she could relieve her parents, *brothers, or husband from any care and anxieties which may beset their* lives, then her high education may be said to have been directed to some practical and approvable ends of life. Having arranged a well ordered home, not ashamed of putting her hand to any good thing by which cheapness, efficiency and method could be secured, she may well turn her attention to fine and noble arts which, we think, ought to be taught her in a High School. According to the grade of the influential society to which she may belong, she may learn the art of music and painting, or become a milliner, a poetess, a physician, or any other professional. A beloved mother, wife or sister playing on the piano, the fiddle or the guitar, is to a well attended home, what a neat and *resplendent piece of jewelry is in the neck of an accomplished neatly*-dressed lady. It is the same with the lady of the house who devotes her spare time to drawing landscape scenes or composing chaste and useful poems.

The higher education of native ladies has thus to be specialized if it is to be fruitful of real benefits. Both in the Vernacular and English, certain new text books are necessary to be framed for their special use. The system prevailing in various girls' schools in England, France and Germany may be fully enquired into, and whatever that may be feasible for India may be adopted for the Poona School. A system of physical training cannot be omitted from the objects of this institution. There are many ladies' open field plays, such as lawn-tennis, which should be adopted, *some of the intellectual games as may suit native ladies not being* omitted. A class for elderly ladies who may wish to acquire special qualifications will, we think, prove attractive to a large number in course of time, especially to those already possessed of some general knowledge. A class or a separate school for training mistresses must become a great necessity very shortly. In this respect also some good model from Europe may be followed as far as may be poss[illegible] res[illegible]

Government not to charge fees to any of the lady students is noble, in that it shows such sincere desire to further the education under notice. We should wish, however, considering the dissatisfaction that may be caused in future when fees are enforced, and considering also the urgency of creating some funds for this purpose so that it may be promoted, that some moderate fees may be levied at the very outset. Perhaps parents may be left to enter the paid or the unpaid list, with an intimation that the Government would be at liberty in future to levy reasonable fees on those able to pay them. The constitution and supervision of the Girls' High School will be effected by a Special Committee of native gentlemen in consultation with the Government. Such Committee, we think, will always be necessary for a ladies' institution like this.

The movement has very rightly evoked sympathies from quarters, far and numerous, as will appear from the following statement published by the promoters :—

FOUNDATIONS OF SCHOLARSHIPS AND PRIZES FOR THE PROPOSED HIGH SCHOOL FOR NATIVE GIRLS.

	Rs.
Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart.	10,000
Sirdar Jaisingrao Aba Saheb Ghatage, Regent of Kolhapur	10,000
H. H. Anandrao Powar, C.S.I., C.I.E., Maharaja of Dhar	3,000
Lady Mayi Saheb Daphle of Jat	6,000
Lady Umabai Saheb Bivalkar	3,000
Sirdar Bapu Saheb Naik Nimbalkar, Chief of Phalton	3,000
Desai Hariprasad Santokram, of Bhownuggar	6,000
H. H. the Nawab Saheb of Janjira	4,500
Sirdar Gangadhar Rao Bala Saheb Patvardhan, Chief of Miraj	6,000
The Hon. Rao Bahadoor K. V. Raste	1,200
Hari Raoji Chiplonkar, Esq.	3,000
Rao Bahadoor Gunpatrao A. Manhar, M.A., LL.B.	1,500
Dr. Vishram Ramji Ghole	250
Sirdar Rangrao Vinayak Purandare	250
Rao Bahadoor Narayan Govind Apte	500
Total...Rs.	58,200

Besides these grants for foundations the *native community* is laid under great obligations to H. E. the Marchioness of Ripon for a donation of Rs. 1,000, and also to His Excellency Sir James Fergusson, Bart., for another donation of the same amount. To these two sums has to be added a donation of Rs. 400 from Sirdar Sumbhaji Rao Power. Besides the above the native community hope to be able to raise a sum of from forty to fifty rupees a month by small subcriptions to be contributed by the people of Poona.

Her Excellency the Marchioness of Ripon, who has extended her distinguished patronage to the Institution, has, with gracious self-denial, allowed her amount for the scholarship to meet the starting expenses should there be any deficiencies to meet them. We have no doubt some leading gentlemen will come forward and appreciate her goodness of heart by establishing a scholarship in her name. We are gratified to see that our own enlightened Prince of Gujerat has allowed a handsome scholarship for the school. We cannot too warmly recommend the institution to be widely supported. Our next gratification ought to be in learning that the Alexandra Institution in Bombay is contemplated to be made a Ladies' High School. It would not look well for the public spirit of Bombay, with so many of its able and worthy leaders like Messrs, Sorabji Shapurji, Dadabhai Nowrosji, Sir Mungaldas Nathubhai, Mr. Nowrosji, Mr. Kabraji and several others of their class capable of projecting such a movement, to fall behind, in respect of native ladies' higher education, a subordinate city like Poona. I would, however, make this observation with some reserve and diffidence, not having looked into the Bombay question with a view to pronounce a definite view on it.—*31st August* 1884.

Death of Her Highness Chimnabai of Baroda.

THE Maharani of Baroda, after a lingering illness of several weeks, breathed her last on the afternoon of the 7th. It is hardly six years since the picturesque streets of Baroda witnessed the triumphant procession of her first nuptial morn when the young cultured Chief led her to his ancient ancestral Palace. The procession of the evening of the 7th was in dismal contrast with that of the former event, but now, as then, the whole city was out to demonstrate its sincere feeling—the former was of loyal spontaneous rejoicing, but the present has, indeed, been much deeper—of sorrow and grief. Those who have witnessed it in Baroda could not help being struck with the deep and emotional demonstration, quiet and subdued in tone, which has marked the lamentable event under note.

The deceased queen was barely 22. As our readers well know, she was one of the Princesses of Tanjore, and the honor and credit of selecting her for the Baroda Durbar was Raja Sir T. Madhaw Rao's. His Highness Syaji Rao, before accepting her as the future Queen of Baroda, satisfied himself by inquiries through his own personal advisers as to Her Highness's eligibility, and ever since the happy wedlock has . rea-

to be proud of his choice. The praises that we have such dismal gratification in uttering to-day in bare justice to the departed are no conventional ones, as everybody acquainted with her as of the Palace will spontaneously feel. The popular voice everywhere is that Baroda will not see her like again. Many of us know what many Zenana ladies in Native States are. It is of course not wholly their own failings which make them so. Her Highness Chimnabai was an unique example among Durbar ladies. It is her premature and much grieved death which has thrown lustre on her pure and simple virtues and a scrupulously blameless life. Her worth, while she lived, was a felt, but unuttered, secret, and but for her noble sufferings of the past few weeks, and her sudden removal from this world, for which she was too good, that secret would have probably remained unaffected for many more years to come.

The rock on which many Durbar ladies in India become a wreck is concealed in faction intrigues and dabbling with State affairs of moment, while not unfrequently they fall a prey into the hands of individuals with no character to lose. In the presence of such associations the character of the ruler is compromised and the administration of the State falls in the estimation of every person whose opinion or interest is of any public worth. The deceased Maharani must have perceived such foreign conditions, wherever they may have been in vogue with almost an intuition. Herein was the quiet but splendid success of her career as the Maharani of Gujerat ensured. His Highness was most devoted in his affection towards his royal partner, and no wife could have been more loving and amiable to her husband than the subject of this short memoir. The mutual love and esteem have given forth the most promising fruit which is to-day marked in the happy and consoling legacy left by her in the little Highness—an interesting young prince—but not, alas! without the Queen mother becoming an unexpected martyr in the cause of the Gaekwar's happiness and dynasty. Her early elevation and her almost assured opening happiness was modified by the death of two beloved girl-babes, and again their loss was compensated to her by the timely gift of an Heir-Apparent. On the whole, therefore, the Maharani may be said to have fared splendidly, and but for her premature end she might have graced the Baroda Durbar with the same exquisite goodness for many years yet.

It would be superfluous to mention that all classes of His Highness' subjects and all his friends and admirers throughout India deeply

sympathize in his irreparable loss. In the electric thrill of grief which caused all Baroda to turn out in a few moments in the streets to pay their last respects to the illustrious dead body, as it was carried to the time-honored banks of the Wishwamitry, His Highness may well take his reason for controlling the disappointment which his strong affectionate feeling has now to encounter. The reigning King could, of course, not accompany the funeral procession; but had he only witnessed the sight of the long thick moving streets through which the decked Queen was carried in an open palanquin by the nearest and the noblest of her earthly kingdom, he might have helplessly broken down for the moment. The many thousands who gathered one above another on the open sides of *streets, or who packed themselves closely in all outlying houses from top* to bottom, were remarkable for their solemn silence, or earnest subdued wail while the solemn tones of the funeral dirge helped to render the scene most impressive. Every man, woman and child was there to have the last look of their lost Queen, whose familiar face was lying open in the palanquin with a restful and serene look that forbade one to believe the pains she had borne for some days before her death. Short as was her career, she has left virtuous seeds sown in the Durbar, which will fructify for many years to come. Well up in some branches of Western learning uncommon in a lady of her class and age, she formed a bright star of the Zenanas, and her native simplicity, candour, amiability and other virtues had remained unaffected by her education, or by her call to the exalted position at Baroda. It is, therefore, we think that she fulfilled her function so admirably in an admirably short period, leaving long and happy memories behind, coveting the rewards of the other world more than those which Death has so swiftly snatched from her hands, but which were yet vouchsafed to her by all the subjects of her Capital, who formed her glorious march towards the last and eternal sanctification such as the banks of the Wishwamitry had, perhaps, rarely before witnessed.—*10th May*, 1885.

The Royal Marriage in Gujerat.

The absorbing topic of the last week in Gujerat and elsewhere was the second marriage of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda. If the marriage of an ordinary individual [illegible] concern, that of a respectable King [illegible] of all his subjects. A king's wedded life, in the [illegible]

must exercise a strong influence on his mind, and, accordingly, we m cordially share in the sympathetic hope expressed to us by an influen correspondent that the union may prove happy and prosperous both the Maharaja and his numerous subjects. We have not the least do that both the Maharaja and the Maharani may fully count upon similarly good wishes of the people in his province and in India genera The successful manner in which the Baroda Chief has hitherto conduc his administration must inspire all well-wishers of self-government India with the hope that every happiness may attend him reflective increasing credit to that Sovereign Hand which has conferred on h one of the conspicuous diadems of the Indian Kingdom.

Much of what occurred at Baroda in the past few weeks has exci curiosity and comment. It may surprise not a few to know that t Maharaja, personally, was very probably quite indifferent to the demo strations which, in spite of him, perhaps, had graced the occasion. that has been his sentiment, it is difficult to know what other could ha been more genuine. He could not forget the loss of his excellent first wi and yet could not well resist the conservative demands of a native Durb which would scrupulously exact everything from everybody to prevent final collapse amidst the fast changing exteriors of the State-constituti The world, in general, attaches less importance to personal bereavemen than to personal joys. In the instance of the British Empress, howev deep-felt and ineffacable was her mourning for her beloved Conso her subjects lost no time in exacting that self-abnegation from he which was the most trying of all the sacrifices she ever mad The people of the Baroda Ruler do not belong to any radically differe mould. His feelings must, no doubt, have been to let him remain peace ! while the whole city was revelling in gaiety and splendour. N one dare refuse to pay a touching tribute to the memory of the deceas Rani, but in the impersonal embodiment of the Durbar she is not dea but alive in spirit and soul. And so did the traditionally spiritual an ceremonial hosts attached to the Durbar insist upon Gujrabai from Dew being named after the late Maharani. This extreme conventionalism Brahminical ritualism is, however, in reality, hid in that inexplainabl communion of spirit, in which nothing is lost or gained.

The daily chroniclers have published a full account of the events in connection with the marriage. We need not, therefore, enter into those

details here. We have to confine ourselves to a general survey of them. It is curious to note that many of the uninitiated into the real character of the *half-sad and half-joyous event have something or other to cavil at.* We are desirous of making a passing allusion to it with a view to impartially ascertain if anything occurred at Baroda which could have been avoided. We note some journals asserting that too much was spent on shows. We are in a position to say that H. H. the Guicwar personally desired that no expenditure should be incurred in accordance with the "dakhlas" which were brought forward by the Durbar. We have been at the pains to inquire into the matter, and find that the Maharaja run his pen freely through the actual figures submitted to him, and reduced them all round to one-third. Another complaint is that while European guests were invited, natives were neglected. It must be remembered that the festive period just past, formed the best of the annual English holidays celebrated in Baroda. Hence on every Christmas tho Maharajas of Baroda have been in the habit of inviting some of the ruling race in India. The number of European gentlemen invited on this occasion was very small indeed, compared to that invited in the time of Raja Sir T. Madevrao. It cannot be said that His Highness had no native guests. Their number from the city itself was constant and large. The city was ready with its numerous native guests, but not so with reference to Europeans. The latter had to be invited from other stations. Perhaps it is fortunate that we have not yet acquired that red-hot *amrita* radical attitude by which to keep away the *gora lok* at an arm's length from those ordinary and princely courtesies, which soften down national frictions and mollify mutual hatred and prejudices, which are positively damaging both to India and England. Supposing we were the worst foes of the British—instead of their [illegible] firm and friendly critics as we always have been for the last quarter of a century—we still should only be delighted to invite European ladies and gentlemen at a cordial social table. Their high culture and refinement [illegible] call for this hearty cordiality; and those who are [illegible] blessed by means, we will certainly not say. The Native [illegible] dinner-tables in India, when not verging [illegible] extravagance [illegible] are one of the [illegible] to unite India and England. [illegible] pleased with the [illegible] opened [illegible] princely hospitality at Baroda [illegible]

The marriage festivities at Baroda seem to have been more coveted by the great mass of the Guicwary subjects than the few dozen of Europeans invited there. Fully a hundred thousand people had poured into the city from outside on the illumination and public fete days. They say bad news fly fast, but, in the instance under notice, it is wonderful to see how soon the *desbanti* multitudes knew that there was something good to be seen at Baroda on particular days. So good news seem also to fly fast. The traditional marriage-halls must have appeared to the hundreds of thousands who saw them a fairy brilliant piece cut out of the *swarag*. The triumphal arch outside this Nazerpaga *mundup* was crowned with native domes and spires and decorated flags which just suited the locality. Municipal efforts in the city were constant and prominent to please the multitudes, and pay a befitting homage to the occasion. What little was spent on decorations and illuminations were spent to produce the greatest possible effect. Among the various places illuminated and decorated, the more striking were that part of the main thoroughfare which is lately widened and reconstructed with all its buildings, the centre clock-tower, the Rowpura bridgeway, also lately widened and rebuilt, and the large iron bridge and other spots in the Public Park. The most effective of all the variegated and dazzling pictures of lights were the Mandwy, the Park Iron Bridge, and the Chimnabai Tower Chawl at the Ghee Kanta, where the Maharaja has lately sanctioned the desire of the Ghee Kanta residents to get a Clock-tower constructed at a cost of Rs. 30,000 to commemorate the memory of the late H. H. Chimnabai. Nearly a lakh of rupees have been spent by the State Municipality in the last few months to ornament the city and reduce some of its grievous discomforts on the occasion of the Royal Marriage past; and this work is known to be one of those numerous measures of agreeable surprise and despatch which His Highness indicated in his speech on the day when the Waterworks at Anjwa were started for the use of his Capital. Sports and *tamashas* were plentifully supplied to the people in the Park and the Arena. There was not a house in Baroda, the inmates of which did not turn out to enjoy them. Thousands of children and thousands of the Guicwar's forces were feasted : the latter act was particularly desirable when it is remembered that not much has yet been done to improve their condition and animate them with active feelings of loyalty, the gradual measures now being taken to ameliorate

their lot being very hopeful indeed. Last of all was the public dinner given to the noblemen and native officials at Baroda, and that occasion was graced by the presence of the Maharaja himself. It is characteristic of Baroda that its Ruler is enlightened enough to invite his officers and Sirdars to dine without any distinction of caste or creed, whereas native gentlemen of all castes take pride and pleasure in partaking of the *purely Hindu style of dinner that is provided for the occasion. Such a* scene becomes altogether worthy of note, and H. H. the Guicwar deserves credit for the urbanity and firmness with which he has introduced this innovation in his State. One more singular incident, and we have done with the subject. As the Maharaja took his bride to palace-home on a richly decorated elephant, followed by his noblemen and officials, the Royal Party were greeted with flower garlands and bouquets and gold and silver flowers by one of the Parsi ladies who were witnessing the gorgeous *Sewary* approaching the Mandwy on the night following that of the marriage.—*10th January*, 1886.

The Jubilee Year of our Queen.

It is a singular fact; but creditable to the modern spirit of enlightenment, that the longest living Sovereigns of the Earth are those who are the most cultured and well-behaved among almost all who could be pointed out. These two Sovereigns are the Queen of England and the Emperor of Germany. They are enjoying the longest period of an active reign which still continues. The Emperor of Germany is not very far from becoming an Imperial centenarian—we in India ought to ardently desire that he may become one, and His Imperial Majesty's every Birthday is most enthusiastically celebrated by millions of his subjects. Except when he is thoroughly provoked, the German Emperor has preserved profound peace and contentment throughout his united Empire even free from the political turmoils usual to Great Britain.

The long and, on the whole, prosperous and progressive Rule of Queen Victoria is even more singular than that of King William of Germany. In the first place she is a woman, and in the next she controls a universal dominion, which her brother of Germany does not: a dominion replete with multifarious elements of both primitive as well as the most modern and complicated order. We may, hereupon, easily conclude that if ever a time came when we might have a Universal Gath[illegible] [illegible] Kings

Queens and Emperors and Empresses of the World in the most favore spot of the Earth—where might be signed the complete and univers truce between warlike nations—that Her Britannic Majesty will be away the palm.

Our remarks are occasioned by the Jubilee Year of our Queen whic has set in this week. It is the 50th Year of Her Majesty's Reign. If distinguished statesman's history may become the history of his country how infinitely more glorious must be the history of a female Sovereign wh has already reigned over us for half a century. Hers has not been th quiet existence of an indifferent or mediocre Royalty. She rules ove subjects of all colors and creeds, and keeps her hold on countries fa and near. She has had the strongest brute forces pitted against he which, at the best, have had no effect on her. When necessary, she had waged the greatest of wars with nations when she found them unscrupulous, and generally, her just cause has brought her out triumphant from the conflicts. As she has not yielded for this long period to the most powerful of the nations in respect of military and naval supremacy, she has all along been the leader of all nations in respect of moral, material, industrial and commercial forces, supported by the most advanced arts and sciences, which now make up a perfect modern nation. Her influence has carried greater weight in the Councils of Nations in the preservation of peace, than the influence of any other royal personage in Europe. Always engaged with tangled social and political difficulties at home, Her Majesty, by her accomplishments and correct temper, has uniformly commanded the respect and esteem of her fellow-craft throughout Europe and Asia. It will always remain as a striking epoch in the World's history that a woman should have been able to maintain a monarchial autocracy for the greater part of a century, while her country has been constantly moved by democratic forces, and many reversive elements have prevailed abroad. She has moved with every increasing intellectual force of her nation and its radical proclivities. Her Majesty has proved a sort of buffer between the intellectual march and the ungoverned traits of her people. She has permitted her Parliamentary institutions the utmost possible latitude, and yet it is a wonder that she had been able to keep them so long within respectful bounds. The Queen has not interposed herself in the way of her people exercising their sovereign will. Though they may have been thrown in tempestuous confusion, she

has stood still like the lighthouse posted in the deep, preventing shipwrecks and catastrophies. It is said by an eminent writer that a popular franchise is a nobler thing than a kingly constitution. What if we said that Her Britannic Majesty has looked down for half a century upon the pettinesses of the struggling multitudes which have not yet produced a better substance than our present constitutional Queen, and which have *never been able to displace her lest all the conflicting elements of the giant* populations should assume the anarchical condition of the despotism of the worst day of old? But for the Queen, with her steady and calming hand of Providence around her warring people, no Government would be possible in England or Ireland, while if the Viceroy in India happened to be a weak man, he would leave India a prey to hopeless confusion. She is a safe vent to all popular passions and prejudices, which are fortunately filtered through her and made safer. She is the barometer of all weathers and all storms. She is never given to using the rod except when the state of affairs become perilous beyond all bounds. She is the great Mother of the best, as well as the naughtiest of her subjects, and we only hope the day may not come when she may be impelled to rise from her throne-seat, when the movement of her little finger would chastise the *impudent*, and *scorch* the *rebellious*. *If ever affairs came to such a pass*, the scene that would strike the Queen would be like the one in the fable of the frogs quarrelling in the pond, when a god drunk it dry and left the whole lot miserable and helpless for further agitation. Why has Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill been tolerated? Why has he received *carte blanche* to ask the country what its wishes are? It is the immeasured wisdom of the Queen which allows fair play to the utmost intellectuality of her subjects. Had she not willed this, she would have easily formed another Cabinet and ruled them with a strong hand. No sovereign can show a greater self-denial in sacrificing the most cherished rights, as Queen Victoria has done for many generations, and still does with unabated vigor. She refuses not even to her most [illegible] people as the Irish, a free-play to any inherent capacity and genius they may possess for self-government. As soon as her people are prepared to [illegible] much of the home affairs may be managed [illegible] to their or their parent country, the Queen will [illegible] supreme act of grace and benevolence [illegible] representative of God on this [illegible].

fluential, the cultured and the illiterate, the poor and the rich, the han fuls or the innumerables are all equal in her eyes, and all equally receive h benedictions. The punishing rod is but seldom used—and that to sta off some real calamity.

It is obvious that the Queen could not have exercised this silent b paramount influence on the destinies of her magnificent and matchle empire, unless she was at once composed of the elements of eve order, strength and sanctity which cannot be found in any other pers throughout the wide domains of the World. She was born with perfe intelligence and consummate virtues latent in her. As Nature som times shows a marvel which has no copy, or a substitute for it, s Queen Victoria, when born, was already an offspring of inherite combinations of all that has been reckoned as strong and pur and blissful ever since the World sprang into life. A match wa found of Zoroaster in the person of Christ who came out the most approve copy of the former. But if we look out for the original of Victoria, we should feel no ordinary difficulty in naming the nearest approach to her. Is she a woman? She is—and of the most perfect type. Is she a man? She is—and of the most graceful and most enduring description. She is a fairy, a saint, a genii and an Hercules. No mortal on the earth can rival her capacity, her goodness, her tender, generous gracefulness As she is endowed with unrivalled qualities of the heart and the head, the brightest Star of Fortune shines permanently on her brow. As she is the Venus among all the Stars of the Political Firmament of the World, and through an ever-changing succession of them, she is the most lustrous planet in the social and domestic lights, of the World. If there be a heaven of social perfection and purity and bliss, one may discover it in Victoria's Court and its Accessories. Has she not led the beauty of fashion, of splendour, of culture, of refinement and of accomplishments through all the treacherous regions of evils and despondency, with an ever and ever multiplying waves of triumphant success? That she has done so, the London Society of to-day bears an emphatic witness. Her married life was supremely happy and complete in all marital respects. But it was also exceptionally happy and remarkable, for we have no other instance of a royal couple who completely succeeded in becoming that one in which the least difference, either in social or political feelings and sentiments, was unknown. It was the noblest and the grandest sight of two great and

strong characters like Victoria and Albert, sharing alike in all pains and pleasures, as in domestic, foreign and State difficulties of the most delicate character. Between herself and her Consort the most serious State affairs were handled so admirably from time to time, that no cliques or parties were tempted to object to the silent but most invaluable aid rendered by him to the Queen. He was himself simply the creature of his own high conscience and integrity, which always warned him off from every political turmoil of the day. The Queen most skilfully availed herself of his best thoughts and aims which Prince Albert knew well to express with perfect calm and disinterestedness. Where there was so much danger of splits or estrangements, there was a singular cordiality and confidence and inviolable union of mind and soul; the greater the State difficulties, the graver the foreign complications, or social and court questions, the strength, moderation and shrewdness of Her Majesty more readily won the complete esteem, approbation and cordiality of her deeply lamented Consort. The exacting requirements of her high station cannot permit her to be wasted in the profound sorrow which has overtaken her since his premature death undoubtedly brought about by the crushing responsibilities which he had to assume after his marriage with the Queen. But it is undeniable that Her Majesty has, with perfect ease, made his famous spirit her own, and thus become the very perfection of humanity. She has controlled the deepest sorrow that could befal a person in her position, and has paid the most unremitting attention to her enormous duties and responsibilities as has ever been her wont. She is now leading her subject nations to the highest realms of prosperity and civilization, at the same time freeing younger nations from the heavy shackles of barbarous ages.

To have attained the Jubilee of a Reign pregnant with these unique achievements, is a circumstance of still greater hopes for our Gracious Queen. The greatness and happiness of the event cannot be overrated. The Jubilee Year has but commenced, and will not end till the 20th June of the next year. We have innocently allowed the starting day of the Jubilee to pass away without special celebrations. There must be done before the close of the year. That proper national rejoicing may be set on foot, the people of India should be first made acquainted with a brief account of the prime results achieved during the [illegible] Majesty's reign. By the time the present [illegible]

entertainments, fairs, and exhibitions of arts and industries may be held while the government and public-spirited men of the country may found Jubilee scholarships for the encouragement of practical arts and trades which may be taught for the benefit of India. Let our Gracious Ruler know that we are deeply interested in the longevity of Her reign; that we entertain the most profound admiration for its character so amply demonstrated for half a century; and that as an intimate part of her own family, we await with anxious interest the day when She may be pleased to grant us those blessings which, conferred on other of her subject nations, have eradicated their various miseries, and placed them on the foremost paths of civilization and prosperity. We cannot, therefore, too earnestly beg our countrymen to attach rightful significance to the prosperous event which has come upon us, letting Her Majesty be touched with our ineffaceable loyalty and devotion, as well as our solicitude to be more adequately blessed on Her hands.—*June 27*, 1886.

APPENDICES

As this work was printed before the Governments of India and Bombay issued their Notes on the important question dealt with in the present Appendix, the Author is unable to explain how far his efforts in relation thereto have borne fruit. He may, however, be allowed to quote one of the several testimonies which he has had the honour of receiving from practical Statesmen, if it can be held that the proposals put forth by the Author are calculated to lead to a wide and radical change in the State policy in respect of the sort of Technical Education which India now sorely needs. Here is one of the kind testimonies just alluded to :—

*" * * can only say at present that your treatise on Technical "Education, which he has perused with interest and pleasure, is evidently "written with thoughtful care and knowledge of the subject, and contains "suggestions likely to prove of great value to those whose duty it will be "to endeavor to solve the difficult problem which it helps to elucidate. ——— "cannot suppose that you expect him to critically examine in detail opinions "and suggestions which you have manifestly every right to put forward "with the authority due to practical experience and long study of "the subject."*

HOW TO INTRODUCE

NATIONAL TECHNICAL EDUCATION

IN INDIA

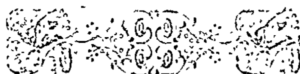
BY

DINSHAH ARDESHIR TALEYARKHAN





I WAS led to write out the main part of this pamphlet (p. 13 to p. 29) in consequence of the laudable desire of His Highness the Máhá Rájá of Baroda to adopt some mode of technical instruction for his subjects. The question suggested to me received my ready sympathies, as I was, perhaps, the earliest native writer who placed the evil of the dearth of trades and occupations in India in some specific light. Some years after this, when the Chiefs of Kattywar appointed me as their representative in charge of their intermutual and foreign relations, I embraced the opportunity of the lamentable assassination of Earl Mayo to induce the native rulers of that province to establish a Fund, commemorative of his memory, which recognized, and provided remedies for, the absence of popular arts and industries and the exploration of the physical resources of that country. The best of counsels not having prevailed throughout the course of that negotiation, the very large Fund, which already had been subscribed, was intercepted in its progress. The project was also conveyed to the notice of some of the best men in Bombay. It gratifies me, however, to observe here that the name of another esteemed Viceroy, and a later one, is to be associated with a Technical College, which will be the first of its kind established in the Bombay Presidency. The resolve made by the energetic and philanthropic Ruler of Baroda points in the same direction. The real and urgent want of the country will, however, be far from being met by limited efforts of this character, and it is to point out the practical and dire urgency of the broad, the comprehensive and the national measure, not yet taken in hand, that I have ventured to explain in these pages. And I trust they may successfully invite the earnest and sustained attention of our worthy Rulers, as well as create an [illegible] desire among our countrymen to contend for the widespread industrial and economic reform of India which I have here [illegible] destined to open the brightest page of history for [illegible]



To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON'BLE
LORD REAY, LL.D., C.I.E.

Governor and President in Council,
&c. &c.,

Bombay.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

When I last had the honour and pleasure of seeing and conversing with your Lordship on some subjects of importance to India, I learnt with gratification that you were deeply interested in the social and educational condition of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress' numerous subjects in the Bombay Presidency, whose immediate ruler She has been pleased to nominate you.

Besides the high opinion I had already formed of your Excellency's sterling qualities and attainments, the recent conversation that I was privileged to hold with you have convinced me of your noble earnestness in advancing the moral and material cause of the natives of the Bombay Presidency, so many of whom have the good fortune of being placed under your Excellency's highly enlightened and benevolent administration.

Among the works written by me, and which you have been pleased to express a desire to see, is a paper describing a practical scheme how to introduce National Technical Education in India written by me so far back as August '84. Your Excellency's gracious desire to be acquainted with native thoughts and aspirations on subjects like this, and the very learned and encouraging address lately delivered by one of your Excellency's ablest and most experienced Councillors, induce me to place this scheme before you in Council, with a hope that before your departure from India your Excellency may be able, as you so well desire, to so modify the educational system for the natives of this Presidency as may lay the seeds of their moral and material regeneration for which they are [illegible] prepared under the earnest and vigorous administration of [illegible] yourself and our Viceregal head.

It is eminently satisfactory to [illegible] from the Hon'ble [illegible] that your Excellency's Government [illegible]

needs of introducing a system of technical education in public schools and colleges. Your Lordship has more than once expressed your personal sympathy in this cause which has led me to directly solicit your Lordship to lay the foundation-stone of that altered system of public instruction which the now growing day in India may shortly render resplendent by the means of those all-pervading genial rays of the practical and sustaining learning and culture of which your Lordship is so eminent a master.

The moral and material depression of the natives of India, noble Lord, has past that tinkering of a cure which might well have answered in the past. A well-concentrated attack against the edifice of our national education, which has so well stood upon its early foundations, has, allow me to submit, become inevitable. The whole edifice has to be altered with the skill and labour of thousands of masons and workmen as it were, and this work must be unhesitatingly started in the present bright dawn of our lives.

With the growing age of the world, India appears to be one of those unfortunate countries on the plains of which no streams rest and fertilise the land, howsoever much the Heavens, in their mercy, send down their blessed showers. With its teeming millions and endless resources, India suffers for the want of varied and lucrative occupations, and thus constantly borders on the verge of anarchy, famine and wholesale destruction.

Even learned England has not long tolerated the dull, misty and antiquated system of instruction; peaceful and practical India can no longer have sympathy with that system which yearly throws out dangerously increasing numbers of students of over-wrought brains, impractical temperament, and worthless, disaffected tendencies. I have, my noble Lord, reflected upon this evil and sought its remedy for a period of 20 years and stated my convictions and plans when hardly a thought was bestowed on the question. I may, therefore, hope that whatever I may venture to confidently suggest may not be considered chimerical or unsuited for a practical treatment.

The most stringent necessity, in my opinion, exists to break up the present single and monotonous course of education, commencing with the primary and ending with the final University course. Having demonstrated in the following paper how the National educational edifice is a plain, huge, and sparsely sympathetic block, that edifice should be entirely reconstructed with a thousand varieties in its design which still may

present one useful and harmonious whole. The edifice now resembles in expression very much like the few primary words which were employed by the primeval nations of the ancient world. When the edifice is rebuilt it would have the same expression as the present expansion and fruitfulness of the earliest language.

The extreme difficulty and the striking development and elaboration of the task which I propose to the Government with every deference, cannot, my noble Lord, be under-estimated for a moment. But it is difficult to perceive how this task, herculean though it be, can be avoided by the Imperial Government with safety or credit. Reflect, my noble Lord, on the unlimited wealth of poor India expended in merely two out of the numerous ways which have come into existence for the last half a century or more. I refer to the expenditures on roads, bridges, buildings, and stores purchased, and services and pensions paid for in England. And how many crores more have been wasted in jobberies and illicit withdrawals from the country, which of course no Government in the world, nor Providence itself could have prevented. I mention this circumstance with the dearest intentions towards the Paramount Government, with the sole object of pointing out the least defensible waste of India's money which cannot be but England's wealth also. Are not the nations of India and England paying crores of rupees every year in liquidating the claims of the enormous national debt very much on account of this very unjustifiable waste? And yet the most urgent work of national salvation—almost of the same urgency as the prevention of famines—has been neglected and never thought of in the one direction it ought to be. *I would, therefore, earnestly submit that the expenditure* on a reconstructed system of national education should be second only to that on the Public Works. The normal expenditure on national education—till the communities have been influenced to take to it themselves—ought to be ten or twelve times larger than it now is. It is far better that innocuous taxes should be enhanced, or imposed where they do not exist already, some of the unproductive expenditures abolished, and the educational fees recast in harmony with the value or the rarity of the instruction imparted with a view to obtain the enhanced funds, rather than that millions should be born in the country without having before them the very elementary aims of their lives.

The very construction of the immensely developed, radically altered, and elaborately diversified system of national instruction and culture, which we

needs of introducing a system of technical education in public schools and colleges. Your Lordship has more than once expressed your personal sympathy in this cause which has led me to directly solicit your Lordship to lay the foundation-stone of that altered system of public instruction which the now growing day in India may shortly render resplendent by the means of those all-pervading genial rays of the practical and sustained learning and culture of which your Lordship is so eminent a master.

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objects of the said structure? If any of these parts, elements, and characteristics of a structural body can, in this instance, be procured, my Lord, I may confidently leave your Excellency to consider if they are all that is ordinarily wanted; and, if it be so, whether they are located in the places and the positions they ought to be. If one were to place himself in the position of an intelligent child, he must at once be cross with the parents who have placed the parts and fittings of his toys in helpless confusion, and removed many of their integral portions and jointures altogether out of his reach and vision.

It would be most discouraging and heart-breaking, my Lord, if the question of introducing technical instruction were attempted in much the same way as a Prince or Governor would distribute prizes, found occasional scholarships, order a special grant for personal allowances or office stationery, or direct an exceptional public building to be constructed. It would be somewhat mimicking the extreme urgency of the great national labor and intensity, now due in the interests of the Supreme Reform this small work denotes, if I suggested to leave the question to philanthropic societies, or to the casual working of the government agencies. I respectfully trust that our present all-seeing Viceroy, to whom I would humbly prefer this appeal through your Lordship, will permit no unfavourable tradition to stand in the way of sanctioning the measure described as one of the primary imperio-national policies which may in a short period spread in the country, like its admirable network of canals, railways and roads, or of its police, magisterial, judiciary, or the custom stations. No set of statesmen ruling us in India and from England can better demonstrate than our present Rulers that if the indirect result of the operation of the British Government be to extract much visible wealth from poor India every year, they are at the same time able enough to open up the ten-thousand channels of industry which would set to work millions of trade-wheels to benefit this and other countries.

I cannot deny that the want of adequate funds will be one of the great difficulties in planning out and adopting the entirely revolutionized system that I advocate. But the prime necessity for a practical settlement of my plan, as being the first action, cannot well be avoided. It will be a great gain to settle upon a practical design of this order. The mastering of the character of our resources, our needs, and the present and future capabilities, is laying down the ground-plan, the elevatio[illegible] work-

ing sections of the building contemplated. Not only a comprehensive exhaustively-framed scheme of the character described by me shoul framed, but finances should be found to work it out. I would rather, beg leave to submit, wish that the salt-tax be enhanced, the import du reimposed, the income-tax popularly universalized, the fat farmers and lan lords, who pay, or do not pay at all, some antiquated State dues, be sufficient taxed, and that also some newly-devised birth, succession, marriage an least taxes be imposed, rather than every year allow thousands of boys an girls to be brought up in the hot-house of brain and mind pulverization, and thrown upon the world as semi-excrescences of aimless, exasperated and tempestuous knowledge of slight personal gain but a dead loss to the world at large, at a moment when it directly wants to be activated, to be replenished, and to be beautified and glorified as one of the lustrous perfect planets of the Universe, and not as a demoniacal skeleton of poverty, sedition, semi-vile barbarism, famine, war, extirpation. It were far better that the merchants, landlords and officials, who earn thousands of pounds a year, had a fraction of their enormous profits cut off; that rich pensioners contributed to the public funds; that inferior stores were purchased in India at a less cost; that costly palaces and huge buildings were discontinued; that the civil and criminal authorities were satisfied with smaller houses; that doubtful sanitary and public works, even secondary works, were held in abeyance. But to be stinted in the important expenditures to be incurred in annually turning out millions in India proficient in the arts and professions which secure ordinary prosperity o a modern country and uplift it from the horrible mire of moral, mental a ntellectual refuse and disgrace, would be most deplorable and calamito is when the State has commenced vigorously to work on the lines I ha ntured to indicate, that we may also expect the several communities luntarily move in similar directions for themselves, and thus lighten th ended responsibilities of the Government. But no such signs of nationa husiasm will appear unless the State has itself taken a full and powerful ative. I venture to think, your Excellency, that your shrewd Vice- ncellor of the Bombay University softly indicated the mere outline of is really due on the part of the Government when he said in his last ocation speech:—

venture to think that an institution in memory of the man who stirred in so million hearts the ambition to share in the duties and responsibilities of local ment should be content with nothing less than a wide-reaching endeavour to

guide those impulses to this practical end, stimulating into action the authorities who now control communal and Muncipal expenditure, and imparting knowledge and assistance to all centres of population in Western India, by subsidies, by opening artisans' evening classes and model technical schools, by distributing mechanical appliances and objects of art, by promoting museums and art collections"

That a monument so grateful to the people of India, commemorative of the name of one of their best favourites, will be raised during your *regimé*, which is destined to take the first ranks in the cause of our public amelioration, I would be one of the first to admit. But I must go further, and beg that your Lordship, to whom the redress of public wrongs, the world-wide devélopment of popular instruction and the higher culture, and the task of accelerating the moral and material prosperity of your subjects is so dear, will impart a full scope to your efforts to reach—almost in a microscopic, and yet all-grasping, manner—the moral and material condition of every community under your rule, the majority of whom are wallowing in the dregs of demoralized, depressed, untutored and vacant lives. The efforts to restore the millions to their normal intellectual brilliancy, activity and contentment will have to be no less than those which were employed in establishing the original security and order in India. Such efforts cannot but evoke the most widespread blessings of the countless people of India, as I cannot but sincerely feel so while addressing noblemen like yourself and those who now, and will hereafter, preside over the destinies of India and England. I will also not fail to respectfully bring this representation to the notice of my own august master, His Highness Sayaji Rao, Maha-Raja of Baroda, whose ready liberal instincts on administrative questions of this sort are well-known.

While closing this, my Lord, I cannot help being being reminded of the weighty words with which your Councillor concluded the last Convocation speech, which will show what harmless philanthrophy, and how healthy, noble and humane a statesmanship are now urgently needed in the widespread and unsectarian interests of the 250 millions of India:—

"Science and art, applied to invention and production, pay no regard to distinctions of nationality or clime. They choose as their most honoured agents those who are best educated, whose natural taste and aptitude have been best cultivated for the work to be done. The competition in the world's industrial school gives the prize to those results of labour which derive the highest excellence from enlightened skill and the fine artistic sense, and to the peoples who most assiduously cultivate those

faculties. There is no room then for the assertion of an equality which cannot prove itself by facts and achievements. That arena is quite apart from baseless jealousies of class and race, their passions and profitless strife. The competition is waged under conditions likely to promote the modesty which is an element of wisdom and the reverence which Goethe calls the soul of all religion."

Soliciting your Lordship's kind attention to these pages,

I remain,

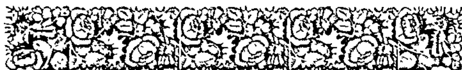
with respects,

Your Excellency's obedient Servant,

DINSHAH ARDESHIR

Baroda, 1st February 1886





How to Introduce National Technical Education in India



I HAVE marked for upwards of twenty years, that the system of British education has not answered many of the urgent modern needs of the Indian population.

2 I advisedly use the word "population." The education imparted in British territories, or in Native States, is fit for little more than *Sircary* service, and at most for general purposes which for want of enterprise and wealth are looked upon with very little favour.

3 *The uniformity and crushing pressure of the present national education* in India has always struck me most. The most striking feature of the prevailing system is involved in a general, literary and classical education, and in theories of physics, mathematics, mechanics, and a few other abstract sciences and knowledge which hardly one in a hundred students can practically apply when thrown upon the world.

4 There is no branch of education which would be worthy of any effect unless both its theory and practice have been learnt. To a limited extent, practical knowledge is taught in the medical and legal branches, but it is even much less so in the engineering.

5 The stage of national education and culture that we have now reached is, therefore, nothing more than preliminary, and that merely touching the thin borderland of the British and Native India populations.

6 Take any of the countries of Europe, excepting Russia, and we shall find many instances of States being directly instrumental in introducing elementary education throughout whole populations, and a varied character of technical and professional education, directly providing the millions with wages and wealth, which are as greater than the earnings of public service as the number of public servants is usually considerably less than that employed in various trades and professions of a country at large. It is not mere juveniles,—millions and millions of them—who are thus [illegible]

elderly artisans and traders and merchants and mechanics in charge of workshops, warehouses and factories, also attend the technological schools, laboratories and museums to discover improvements and introduce perfections in the arts and trades followed by them as business. In our country of about 250 millions of population, even the primary education, merely pointing out the *names* of a few things, is extended to some lacs of people only.

7 Though England is far advanced in practical and popular results in the departments of the fine arts and of metallurgy, mineralogy, mechanics, engineering, medicines, chemicals as displayed in its numerous colleges and its extensive working mines, workshops, manufactories, &c., attention has lately been effectually drawn to the deficiencies existing in the number and character of its technical schools, laboratories and museums, including of course the Colleges where the rarer arts and sciences are taught. It has been authoritatively admitted in England, that the special education of the labourers employed in the manufactories, and of the managers and manufacturers themselves, are much behind that marked in Germany, France and other countries of Europe. And, accordingly, a great movement is set on foot in England not to allow other countries, which preliminarily benefited from the example of England, to outbid her in the most modern advances made in the industrial pursuits of the millions.

8 We cannot then have a better example to follow than that set by the subjects of our own Queen, the Empress of half the world.

9 The questions are: how to change the system of education followed in India,—a system which requires a radical, and at the same time, harmonious change? how to broaden and nationalize the basis of the present education? what are the technical schools fit for the State? and how are they to be organized and inserted into the body of the educational institutions? The practical settlement of these and auxiliary questions is difficult to arrive at. But a practical solution must be found for administrative purposes as the Government are now anxious to introduce technical instruction in the country.

10 Anything to be devised ought to be developed, as much as possible, out of the state of things prevailing in our towns and cities. Foreign agency will be indispensable, but the soil to be experimented upon should be our own, *i.e.*, the objects of our own needs should primarily be looked after.

11 I would first propose to have the statistical statement of the cities, towns and villages, pointing out—

(1) Number of male inhabitants
(2) „ Elderly males
(3) „ „ females
(4) „ Boys
(5) „ Girls
(6) „ Boys receiving education
(7) „ Girls receiving education
(8) „ Farmers
(9) „ Agricultural laborers
(10) „ Each class of artisans
(11) „ Each class of traders and professionals
(12) „ The unemployed (of what castes)
(13) „ Literary and religious classes
(14) „ Mendicants (of what castes)
(15) Character of manufactories, &c., (if there be any)
(16) Do. any old trade or industry now extinct

12 A second statistical return should embrace the following information for each place as aforesaid :—

(1) Articles of General Food of the Inhabitants

(*a*) Description of each article of food, medicines, &c.
(*b*) Probable quantity of each article used
(*c*) Quantity received from abroad, of course approximate
(*d*) Quantity produced at home and elsewhere
(*e*) Estimated value of each item (of course one year's calculation to apply in every instance)

The term food means every article of human and animal consumption, whether of general or limited use.

(2) Articles of General Use by the Inhabitants

(*a*) These articles should also be classified and indicated as above
(*b*) These articles, perishable and non-perishable, to be those which *are employed in trade or commerce along with those brought* into use by populations, sects, or individuals, in each place.

(3) Each of the articles for *consumption, everyday use, trade-*use, or manufacturers' use, should indicate the [illegible]

it is obtained, for example, produce of the land, mineral king forest, workshop, or other sources, as the case may be.

(4) If special facilities exist in any town or villag produce any articles now imported from abroad, and which ma produced or manufactured at less rates, then these articles sh be specially mentioned, with a practical explanation as to the p bility of creating the produce, the handiwork, the manufac or any other outturn, as the case may be.

(5) The area of each city, town, or village should, for purposes of these statistical returns, comprise certain well calcul areas of the country, or the city, so that the different localised it may reflect the wants and capacity of each of the divisable tract the country.

13 Proceeding on these essentially preliminary and fundamental li of researches and ascertainment, we might be able to know the character value of the articles of consumption at each place, their source of producti the character and amount of human skill, or the physical, mechanical chemical resources required for their production. We shall know what stc we have there: to supply those articles natural, handiwork, or otherwise; vhat force we have at present of manual, mechanical, engineering, chemic nedical, administrative, legal, &c., agencies, as may exist more or less ot, in each territorial division, for industrial and educational purposes.

14 The knowledge of what articles are in use in each of the distin acts, must also lead us to an important inference as to the probability rther articles, more or less in conformity with those already used, en distinct from those in use, being imported in the course of tim ne of these articles again being already used in the more advanced Indian towns and cities.

15 If we eventually see our way towards systematising and enhancin present stock of skill and resources of certain parts of the countr not unlikely that other parts could be tapped to the advantage of th ntry in general.

5 To officially recognize, remodel, and multiply the existing or the nor rrent skill and resources, so as to be the all-governing forces of the distan e, will be a difficult task indeed for any Government in India to under in the broad and comprehensive spirit here indicated. But the task is which no Government should please neglect for a single year more.

17 The groundwork of all general, technical, or industrial instruction is primary education. The spirit of the times is so far changed that every section of the population, even the lowest, ought to be compulsorily subject to the necessary amount of education as applicable to each industrial or professional section. The elementary knowledge gained by the meanest artisan or labourer is a distinct gain to the country. Our artisans already possessing the inherited skill of various crafts of a practical character, their faculties would be considerably stimulated when a regular training, based on both theoretic and practical principles, is introduced among them from the earliest age.

18 Primary education might be made compulsory among the populations which do not now avail of it. Every village of note should have facilities for imparting primary education, either by aided or unaided, Government or semi-Government, agencies.

19 The primary educational system in a village or town, to be all-embracing and successful, should be elastic Banish the brittle, hard uniformity of a village or town school, whether of a low or high standard. The present system is good deal meaningless. Break a school into various classes, to suit the different geniuses, callings and leisure of the various classes of the people living in the centre where that school exists.

20 Construct each class, so that it may specially suit the calling and leisure of a special class of the population. The school series should be so remodelled that, as far as possible, it should impart the knowledge of the art, trade, or industry, which may be followed by the boys attending a particular class. A double object will thus be attained. with a wider spread of the elementary knowledge, the education of the different sects of populations will proceed on the lines in sympathy with their varied business and professions, which ought now to form the *ultima thule* of their future careers.

21 No boys, save those of the humblest classes, should receive any education *gratis*. *The fees leviable from boys ought to be graded*, the scale rising according to the lucrativeness of a trade or art taught. Those desirous of attaining high culture, such as may be needed for the highest branches of administration, or the highest walks of commerce or other business, should, as much as possible, be made to pay the highest possible fees, of course not prohibitory. It is a downright error in a State altogether ignoring the principle of pecuniary business which is applic[illegible] to the [illegible] tional services according to their respective cost. D[illegible] re[illegible]

interest on the money spent, from time to time, but the major part of t expenses incurred should at least be recouped as early as it could be. Tl spread of primary education among the masses is now an urgent necessit but that of culture and the highest knowledge of sciences and arts amoı them is necessarily not so, except among the much nobler families like to render best the high services demanded of them. But those wh would pay for acquiring the higher capacities may bring about any desire multiplication of the superior classes. I will not apply the same princip to the initiatory stages of higher instructions, when special measu may be due. Any system of public instruction developed on the lin here shown must, of course, be much costlier than the present system, which technical researches, agencies, laboratories, or other practical metho are almost entirely absent.

22 The revised systems of national education should aim at impartin to a student so much as may be needed for his own concern in after-life and that only which he probably needs, as either inherited by him, or his ow personal inclinations may favour, or the tract, town, village, or the speci necessities of individuals, or of commonwealth, may impose on him. A studer for matriculation, or the higher courses, who desires Government service, ougł not to be half killed by drilling him into the elaborations of higher literature mathematics, classics, physics, chemistry, or philosophies. As much as pos sible, the mastering of any of these branches should only be confined to those by whom their principles are likely to be employed in actual business. Those desirous of wider and general studies during their course in a High School, College, or an University, should not be tampered with by anything more simple expositions of the leading principles of the more important of pure sciences and arts. That would be quite enough, when it is considered that the aim of each of the defined sets of boys ought not to be aimless and scattered in the overwhelming pressure of the mere frigid, insoluble outlines of an indefinite sort of knowledge. When it is considered, too, that the aim of each class of boys, primarily, would be to master any one knowledge, science, or art, which they are most likely to follow in the practical concerns of their lives, what earthly use is there to grind the growing brains under the heavy mill of euclid or astronomy—there are so many other like grinders of the young intellect!—when such boys, the most of them, are hardly likely to think of them in their business-life? The system is as clumsy as antiquated : it simply sucks out the unripe oranges of most

of its vital fluid, killing much of the energies when business-life wants them most. I suspect we are all but following the obsolete system observed by the philosophic teachers of ancient Greece, to whom a proficiency in the rapid theories of learning was so congenial, but any practical application of them mean and hateful! Are we all, then, not still following the Brahmanical ferocity of exclusion of the most backward ages of the world?—that the boys should not be taught what would be of some practical use to them in struggling against the endless miseries of the world?—that they should be half-demented before launched on its tempestuous waves and half-illusory shores?

23 The students, whose object may be to pass in general knowledge, may well be versed in the general outlines above hinted, and in the knowledge in regard to the principal peoples of the Indian provinces, and in the various administrative systems under which they are governed, showing the social, material, financial, and political results pertaining to the same. I would not exclude from the curriculum of higher studies an outline of the commercial and economic conditions of various parts of India. Practical subjects of immediate use are likely to be much more intelligent, and, therefore, easier to the students, than the abstruse and ridiculously unwieldy theories and problems in which their powers are now wasted.

24 The very difficult questions have here to be put and answered : what precisely is the technical education that we require? and how are we to give effect to it? There is no doubt that we often suffer from the dearth of ordinary artisans; if we had more of them we should save much money by bringing their wages lower, and secure better work by making them humbler and more skilful, which now they by no means are. Who are our superior artisans mostly in request? They are :—(1) carpenters, (2) blacksmiths, (3) bricklayers, (4) stonemasons, (5) brick, tile and mortar makers, (6) shoe makers, (7) worker on handlooms, (8) dyers, (9) potters, (10) goldsmiths, (11) copper smiths, (12) jewellers, (13) matters, (14) engravers, (15) painters, (16) sculptors, (17) glass and lamp makers, (18) paper makers, (19) lacers, (20) embroiderers, (21) tailors, (22) toy makers, (23) banglers, (24) carriage and furniture makers, (25) gold and silver leaf makers, (26) bone and ivory workers, (27) gold and silver sorters, (28) cane workers, (29) carpet makers, (30) gunsmiths, (31) sword makers, (32) watch makers, (33) compositors, (34) printers, (35) lithographers, (36) photographers, (37) mechanics, (38) engine drivers, (39) divers, (40) boatmen, (41) [illegible] (42)

(43) accountants, (44) bankers, (45) soap makers, (46) cloth printers, (47) dye-makers, (48) gardeners, (49) tanners, (50) dairymen, (51) musicians (52) mintmen, (53) spinners, (54) weavers, (55) firemen, (56) sanitary and road inspectors, (57) roofers, (58) oilmen, (59) metal polishers, (60) bead and hooka makers, (61) comb makers (62) musical instrument makers, (63) snuff-makers (64) attar makers, (65) turners, (66) agricultural implement makers, (67) saddle and harness makers, (68) electroplaters, (69) rope and basket makers, (70) cask makers. I mention these names at random and from memory, which is sufficient for my purpose.

25 Somehow or other, for thousands of years, the line of most of these artisans has been religiouly kept up by them in our towns. Supposing that separate classes were opened in connection with the public schools, where some of the more important of the above handicrafts could be taught, one thing is clear, that many more will be naturally ready to learn, if the resources for the purpose were organized in a statesmanlike manner. The crafts, for the present, cannot be learnt, except by those who have inherited them, or who can be initiated into them by chance or favour. If the crafts are, however, universally taught by easy and perfect methods, the attractions for those who would otherwise not be inclined to follow a new line of business, will only be much greater.

26 The statistical statements above suggested will serve to point out the approximate demand in each place for particular artisans, &c. On this information the constitution of the local schools should be based—other practical, though novel, technical instructions also being provided for.

27 By opening artisans' and traders' classes as affiliated with ordinary schools, we may at best multiply their numbers which would only be a boon so far that increased employment for various classes may result in course of time, pressure on particular services may be lessened and public inconvenience may be somewhat reduced. But very little of intrinsic improvement is likely to follow in respect of arts and manufactures, in the absence of a knowledge of better methods and scientifically trained and practical technical agents, such as have helped in universalizing the most important trades and manufactories in almost every country in Europe.

28 In the first place, no technical education can be imparted to the people without the aid of technical agents, who possess much more than a book knowledge of principles, and who have actually seen those principles

at work in laboratories, workshops, or manufactories. Secondly, if any professional, handicraft, or chemical knowledge is to be taught in specific directions, the students should have actual work to practise in a workhouse where the requisite apparatuses and even machinery should be found. I have come across graduates who with their knowledge of things, their objects and their relative connections, and so forth, as crammed in from the books which they were taught in colleges, were naturally unable to show much aptitude in practically applying their knowledge of theories, without gaining experience under practical masters. However much theories may be learnt in schools, they are of no practical use unless they are learnt with special reference to their practical application. In no country in Europe, if I mistake not, is the slightest faith placed in the acquirement of mere book theories. There classes are attached to schools and colleges, where the articles, their compositions, their analysis, and their various manipulations, with actual results, are to be seen and felt, skilful technological masters guiding the operations, and training the young intellect as well as the old The young are the would-be lower and higher artisans whom owners of factories, workshops, &c., would be glad to employ as soon as they have passed the required standards which would suffice for their business. The elderly people are those who attend the laboratories, museums, and the principal houses of learning, to discover any defects existing in the working of their manufactories, or workshops, or to learn any modifications or advances made, either in pure or applied sciences at home or abroad, or any novel manufactures or staple articles introduced in any part of Europe, Asia or America.

29 We cannot copy the technical system of any country unless we are prepared to convert that copy into a natural graft. The principle of this grafting should be distinctly borne in mind. I have, therefore, tried to lay down what should be the early processes of this grafting. First of all we try and discover the articles produced, imported and consumed in each of the representative tracts. Secondly, we ascertain what trading and professional classes exist in that tract, and what more could be introduced in union with them, as much as this may be possible. We would thus lay down the first basis of our operations as may be really existing by knowing the popular wants and the resources at work in supplying them. The wants could then be improved and stimulated, while the agencies for meeting them could be methodically organized and multiplied.

30 I have already pointed out that any technical instruction, to be systematic and effectual, should be taught practically, at the same time that it is taught theoretically. Many of the crafts of which I have given a list are indigenous to our country. However practical they appear so far, a systematic and enlightened method to teach them does not exist. The manner in which the indigenous artisans and professionals have been supplied to us so quietly and surely, from time to time, is something peculiar. We might well admire the beautiful economical processes in vogue for centuries, though our pinching modern requirements inevitably demand their vast development and extension. The difficulty is to know how to develop and extend the existing crafts and industries, and to establish those not existing, and which could flourish in conformity with the needs and geniuses of the communities, as may be discovered by the methods pointed out. The difficulty can be gradually surmounted by the adoption and carrying out of certain earnest measures, which I would now explain.

31 Trained masters will be required for artisans', mechanics', manufacturers' and traders' classes. No manuals or manual teachers can ever do the work which a practical teacher could do. How could such teachers be trained up, these being rarely found in India? A feasible method would be to attach substantial scholarships of various classes and grades to fit in with the differentiating standards of general education, or with the different graded schools and colleges. The students who may be appointed to receive the scholarships should receive general education, generally, as far only as may be essential for learning the theory of the craft or profession for which the scholarships may be intended. Those holding the State scholarships for mastering any art, trade, or industry, should be sent either to England, Germany, Switzerland, France, or to any other country in which any of the professions for which the scholars may be intended are best taught.

32 To render art and professional teaching at once successful and popular, it should be as much as possible in handiwork, and all that is turned out of small and simple machineries and apparatuses. I would not apply this restriction to matters pertaining to such workshops and manufactories as are more or less extant in India. If these, where existing, are accessible to us, it is best to arrange for a practical tuition in them as attached to the concerned State schools, which may have classes for such practical teaching. This method would also claim the recommendation of

avoiding the over-pressure of driftless *general education*, which would so beneficially give way to special education.

33 A systematic administrative department should be founded for a rapid diffusion of technical education throughout the country. No schoolmaster, or a director of education, can, without the aid of technical agents, perform the task of *organizing technical institutions*. The task evidently needs something more than *general administrative ability*.

34 The most advanced of the countries in Europe [illegible] to send abroad their [illegible], *or other agents to inspect and copy* [illegible] instructional institutions or manufactories which may have attained perfection there. [illegible]

35 [illegible]

names, but by the means of actual objects brought together, and as acti upon each other, as if things were actually manufactured, or ready for sa The Government will thus be fortunate if it should be able to secure t services of such a scientifico-worker and demonstrator for its technical schoc and colleges. Not only will he lay down the exact principles of practic: instruction, but he can be sent out to hills, valleys, rivers and forests, fc conducting geological, mining, metallic, botanical and forest exploration: He will also be most useful in testing and expositating on the quality c various soils and such tracts as have been lying waste. Any large amoun spent in securing the services of such an agent for the first ten years a least, will, indeed, be well spent. In Europe, the best of such functionarie: would easily earn as much as £2,000 per annum. So we can guess wha wages would have to be paid to such a specialist when brought out to India, if a really eminent man could be induced to come out. When a competent agent is secured, we may expect to secure, through him, a few efficient assistants.

36 It won't do to wait till training masters have been brought up here or in England. The technological directors may probably secure indigenous agents pursuing different crafts and trades, which would be very desirable. I am sure a demand will arise even for a tentative training established in this manner, especially when superintended by a learned, skilled and experienced person.

37 The various teachings in arts, sciences, manufactures, trades and professions, should be graded according to the merits, value and standing of each. Let each of these grades be affiliated to a standard of general education, which would just suffice for the acquirement of the graded technicology. Even if, at the outset, there should be little better than indigenous training, both the technical training and the general education will induce many more students to take advantage of them than a mere unmixed and unsympathetic system of general education now attracts.

38 It would be desirable to render the workshops, laboratories, &c. attached to classes which may be self-paying and even profitable to the State, as much as this may be possible. The various departments of a State always need furniture, stationery, &c., and various State works building materials of many descriptions. So nothing would be lost what is spent on the technical *karkhanas*, excepting of course all outlays on trials. From inquiries it will be found that the supply of various artisans, what our cities and towns

can supply, frequently fall short of the demand. By the means of technical classes it may be fairly expected that this unsatisfactory state of things will gradually cease.

39 It is also possible to invite, from various parts of India, men whose knowledge of certain crafts has descended from many generations, and is unique and popularly admired throughout the country For instance, we have various artists in the North-west who have rendered themselves very famous, and so is it in Cutch, Southern India, and in almost all noted parts of India, as being specialities in various branches of handicrafts and trade, which excite admiration even in the civilized West. It would comparatively be an easy task to collect for different territories the various higher orders of artisans well versed in their respective industries and set them to initiate our own art-scholars in them,—these industries being *founded on business-like principles*—the object being to create new trades in articles of domestic, ornamental and general use, and start a busy life for thousands of people, always taking care, wherever it may be possible, *to select local materials with healthy combinations of local and foreign* characteristics or designs.

40 One of the great features of our technical schools should be the *multiplication of simple hand-machines* and other like apparatuses, *not* involving elaborate machineries, excepting, of course, large workshops, foundries, or manufactories. Even in agricultural farms this should be their *singular feature. The technological masters should not only select hand-*machines and tools from Europe, but collecting them from various parts of India they should be improved in accord with the more scientific or more *effectual methods and principles of the present times. One element of* success in technical education would lie in the simplicity and inexpensiveness of appliances and preparations consistent with the results to be obtained.

41 One important principle which my humble design for technical education would aim at, is to regulate the number of students aspiring after the general degrees, and who mostly besiege the political and administrative paths of a State. By establishing sober diversities in public instruction, the preponderating influence in one particular direction must be considerably diminished, while the educational influences thus spared would be utilized in those walks of life, the present impoverished state of which cannot be sufficiently deplored. I would discourage many of the students competing for the entrance examination, or that relating to the F.A., B.A., or M.A.

degrees, by diverting the intellect and genius of the learning youth to t graded provinces of technology, each of which will have to be appropriate defined. We shall have the higher standards of general education virtual open to those who would go in for law, medicines, or political, economical, religious sciences, or engineering, or who may be specially inclined master the higher theories of pure and applied sciences, besides tl domains of classics and extra languages. Even in respect of the latt students, I would let some of the abstruse subjects drop, substitutir for them subjects of immediate importance, whether they refer to tl educational line, or to administration and statecraft. Thus, even those wl aspire after a general education may study with definite aims of value t the State.

42 An obligation should be gradually enforced on parents, or students to declare at the earliest opportunity what ultimate department of instruc tion they would like to enter, and then, as much as possible, they may b confined to that department unless they subsequently change their mind and the curriculum of their studies would permit a change. The scale o fees, as I have already observed, should be, as far as possible, high or lov according to the graded value of the craft or profession taught, an elastic method of transfers from one branch to another being always observed except where it radically could not be. I would not omit from the list o the various independent departments of public instruction which I have mentioned, one department for training tutors or directors for the various schools.

43 Technical education of sorts may be imparted to numerous students if various State wants were taken advantage of, and provisional workshops and manufactories established to meet them. A great necessity exists for these, in that when successfully established they are likely to prove a source of savings to the State. The principal parts of Presidencies and States may be made the culminating points of arts, industrial and scientific institutions which may gradually attract many students of higher stamina from the interior and remote corners of such divisions of the Empire. Among the practical researches desirable to undertake as defined in the [illegible] I would mention one more. A complete history of each of the indigenous arts, industries, trades and professions, followed by the various industrial classes of every definable district, should be prepared, for I have been often struck with the time-honoured skill, patient labour, and very ingenious, though

sometimes crude, appliances so modestly employed by these classes for many generations in pursuance of their business; and that without attempting any appreciable changes in the instutions handed them with almost a religious inviolability.

44 I would now summarize the measures explained in the foregoing pages:—

(*a*) Statistical information referring to the character and extent of the population of each town, village, or any other separatable tract of a division, or a province, to be obtained

(*b*) Also statistical information referring to the character and quantity of indigenous and foreign produces of all sorts in use in each such place, and the character and extent of the local agencies existing for the getting up of the various indigenous articles in use.

(*c*) Rudimentary education should be in some degree compulsorily enforced among all classes of the populations.

(*d*) General education in schools, colleges and universities to be so qualified and graded, as to suffice in each case for the purposes of a technical class to be attached to each of the representative schools, colleges, &c.

(*e*) Each representative school, &c., to consist of the elements of general, as well as technical, education in specific sympathy with the crafts, wants and genius of the classes represented by that school.

(*f*) The scale of fees for the various educational institutions or classes should be regulated, as far as possible, according to the value of the profession or science taught.

(*g*) It should be obligatory, as far as possible, on every student to declare at the outset the line of learning which he would choose for himself.

(*h*) Substantial scholarships to be founded for arts, mechanical, agricultural, and chemical students, also for those meant for mining, mineralogy, &c., to enable them to proceed to Europe to master the said arts, &c. Scholarships should also be opened for attending the practical schools wherever they may exist, and for any rare studies, or industries found in any district.

(*i*) Departmental heads for general and techmical education should be appointed and deputed to Europe to study the technical

schools and colleges, laboratories, museums, workshops, manufa
tories, model farms, mining, mineral works, &c.

(*j*) First class European technological superintenden
indigenous artisans and other industrial agents should be nominate

(*k*) Simple hand machines and apparatuses, both indigenou and European, to be collected and adopted as one great feature c technical education, a thorough and popular use of these simple an inexpensive agencies being a great national want. They should als be constantly invented.

(*l*) Laboratories and museums to be opened, existing workshops and manufactories for teaching purposes, being recognized as may be arranged by the superintendents.

(*m*) Technological superintendents should be deputed to the districts to explore the various resources of soil, hills, streams and rivers, forests, and the depths of the earth.

(*n*) A systematic history to be prepared of the resources, crafts and industries indigenous to each district as referring to the past and the present, and explaining origin, character, method of execution, scope, &c.

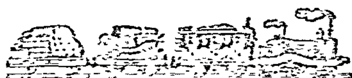
(*o*) Every Capital in the country to be made the centre of teaching all higher arts, philosophies, sciences and industries.

(*p*) The affiliation, in various grades, of general with technical education to be devised. The reduction of matriculated students, B.As. and M.As. to be brought about in proportion to the increased number of students of specific training. A reduction should also be carried out in the theoretic crudities of college students, to render them practical for the administrative, financial, commercial, economical, &c., branches of the country's affairs.

45. These are all merely heads of measures as proposed: their specification above attempted should be critically read if they are to be put to a practical test. It is evident, that to put them all in practice, endering them into one connective and sympathetic system of national education, as I have ventured, joint by joint, to illustrate, will be a vork of time and much patient labour and perseverance allied with the ighest genius that can be commanded for the purpose. It is the chronic isease and debility of the educational administration of the country we ave to hit: while all the remedies, the amendments, the amplifications, and

the developments that we may attempt, should all be based on the changing and contemporary lines of affairs, to be woven only [illegible] of the thickness of the overpowering elements, and then [illegible] brought together to form a [illegible] figures, colours and [illegible] which hence might excite the wonder of all. Why, in the name of [illegible], there was so much delay and confusion in building up a national system of [illegible] which, an exhaustive policy of national education and [illegible] and culture like the one here unfolded, demands.

Baroda,
12th August, 1894



B

The Educational Manifesto of Lord Dufferin at Allahabad.



A SHORT time ago the accomplished Viceroy of India, accepting the request of Sir Alfred Lyall, Lieutenant-Governor in the North-West, unveiled the statue of Sir William Muir, and declared the College building open in which that statue was erected, and which was founded by Sir William when Governor in those Provinces. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Terrell read an interesting address in which the origin of the institution was explained.

We natives ought to take the fact as remarkable that, though the Allahabad College is mostly the product of the generosity of Native Chiefs and Noblemen, the moral impetus by which this beautiful, imposing and highly costly building has been raised is entirely due to European pluck and initiation. The fact is not remarkable in this light, that the national and absolutely evidential instruction of the Indian masses is entirely due to British. But we wish the fact to be striking to us in this wise: that grand institution is not solely the creation of native gentry and native nobility. The prime cause of the institution is *English*, and it is *English* gentlemen who have led the native promoters to the accomplishment of this work. We must take this fact to heart in a spirit of very active emulation. Wo should like to see our own people and our own gentry initiating various educational measures for India, now that the author of *How to Introduce National Technical Education into India* has placed a broad, comprehensive and original design before the country. The national conviction is now complete, or is being completed, that technical education should be as wide-spread as the canal, railway, road or postal system of the country: every town, district, or village maintaining technical, industrial and professional institutions, beautifully and carefully blended with graduated general education. The Hon'ble Mr. Peile, in

his last able speech at one of the educational institutions at Bombay, h maintained this view in the new and broad directions now perceive and we have reasons to believe that His Excellency Lord Reay is del berating upon some policy—not a hand and mouth affair surely. Th speeches which we have now great pleasure to review as delivered by S Alfred Lyall and Lord Dufferin, light in us such hopes as we sincere desire to see realized in the regimé of these and other India statesmen who have ventured to question the present rigidity an disgusting opaqueness and sameness of the national system of our educatio We know that the author of the pamphlet has received expressions fro many influential quarters which go a great way in clothing the fir visionary design with promising substance and abiding color.

But to return to the point we desire to bring home to the educate and aristocratic classes of the country: come forward voluntarily you selves, and open the fountain-source of your sympathies, wealth an influence in the cause of creating national trades and industries. We ca only be much amused at the cavilling of many writers in the Press at th attitude of the Indian authorities towards higher and particular systems o national education. Our heart is full both for higher and every othe education. But while the general cry is decidedly want of employment and the woful absence of trades and arts, don't seek to swamp it by crying out that Government intends placing its foot upon higher education It will do nothing of the kind; it can never do it even if it wished it. The highest and the broadest and the brightest prospects of academical sciences and literature have been most commendably and most unreservedly placed before us by the voluntary efforts of this very Government, and we cannot help being amused at the ill-thought fears so widely expressed by our brethren. What we all have to do now is to incite monied and cultured men to enlarge the foundations and superstructure of the educational and instructional edifice of Native India. Let British statesmen tell us frankly all the unsavoury truths which they may have to say on this question. The writer of the pamphlet has not heard from all sides, what would only apparently be congenial to his hopes and feelings; but the following communication from a very influential Administrator in the Foreign Department, well known for his high

should not lag behind in endeavouring earnestly to realize the spirit with which some of our illustrious correspondents are animated; we are sure our readers will fully see between the lines :—

"I desire to acknowledge, with sincere thanks, your pamphlet on the introduction of national technical education into India.

"I am satisfied that in technical instruction and the consequent development of the industrial arts, industries and professions, lies the best hope for the future for educated Indians, who now look to Government to find them employment and who must be largely disappointed, owing to the excess of the supply over the demand.

"I think that your attracting attention to this subject may be of great advantage to your countrymen, the more especially as it is to them that we must look for the provision of the higher educational machinery. The princes, gentry and wealthy merchants of Bombay and Calcutta should come forward and endow institutions for technical instruction. The Government cannot be expected, in a country like India, to supply other than a modest share of the educational acquirements of the country.

"I often, in native papers, see comparisons drawn between the proportional amount spent on education from the revenues of England and India, but the writers forget that India is in so low a phase of development and is so unprovided with the raw material of civilization, that the Government cannot afford to spend its money on educational luxuries. It can indeed do little more than offer elementary instruction to those too poor to obtain it themselves; the rest must be done by the native community itself. 100 or 200 years hence, when India has been supplied with the ordinary paraphernalia of civilization, in railways, roads, canals and public buildings, the Government may be able to find spare money for higher technical education. Till then Hindus must be content to put their ridiculous caste prejudices in their pocket and obtain technical training in England. Japan is twice as far from England as India, yet numerous Japanese are to be found in London and Paris, preparing themselves by a technical training, for useful employment in their native country, and if Hindus are to gain a high place in the modern industrial world, they must act in a similar manner."

We may venture to say to this eminent Politician that, acknowledging as we do with no common regret, that the Hindus should lack the very spirit which would renovate their physique, their homes and their mental and moral condition, we cannot possibly ignore the fact which nothing can displace, that in respect of technical education, as in regard to other public improvements already established in India, the Paramount Power *must* first come to the rescue of the nations of India which have been rendered invalid under foreign treatment. The Government has to play the part of an incendiary—in such instances such exceedingly welcome incendiaries—and then the rest will surely follow. In spite of this our conviction, we are ashamed to see our countrymen not bucklin

in forcing the *niats* to ridicule the really "ridiculous prejudices" which have made them cowards and nonentities. Look ye countrymen to this dismal fact : it is the existence of these your prejudices which prompts this distinguished writer to believe, that India is still to take a hundred or two hundred years, even to complete the first preliminaries of its civilization ! Such encouraging prospects really !

But to come to our notice of the speeches at Allahabad. No one could deny the gratification expressed by the Lieutenant-Governor in being able to be present at the opening of the College, when, as he said, i remembered how changes are constant and official vicissitudes many India. In asking the Viceroy to declare the College—the foundati stone of which was laid by Lord Northbrook—open, Sir Alfred did ind allude to what was due to the extension of higher education, and in manner which must disabuse the public mind of the unfounded misgivi entertained :—

"I hope your Lordship will be pleased to accede to the request of our Committee, and to us the honour of opening a building that is, I think, remarkable for its character and desi and that is in a high degree interesting to us in these Provinces, not only for what commemorates, but also for what it may seem to promise, and, so to speak, to foreshad The building commemorates, my Lord, the liberality and public spirit of those who so fre contributed to the original fund, and who spared no pains to promote the work. It a commemorates the firm, earnest, and statesman-like trust placed by Sir William Muir a other leading personages—the principal Chiefs and the most enlightened representatives different classes in our society—the trust placed by them in the sure and certain progress a spread of higher education in this part of India ; their belief in its great public advantage, a in its promise and potency of future development."

If Sir Alfred has but expressed the policy of the British Governme in the eloquent and decisive language that he has employed, the enti misconstruction placed upon the intents of Lord Dufferin becomes sel evident. We cannot help maintaining that Sir Lyall has done nothin else but expressed the views of the Government of India itself. But th highly sagacious and learned Lieutenant-Governor emphasises this polic by endeavouring to enter into the deepest depth of this earnestness, and i must become at once a pleasure and privilege to be acquainted with hi lucid and glowing views on the question :—

"And if we may pretend to reach a meaning in the style and proportion, and design of th architecture of this College, we may say that it foreshadows and anticipates the speedy expansio of high education under the combined impulses of Eastern and Wester ideas and traditions, and

ordinarily wanted; and, if it be so, whether they are located in the places and ought to be. If one were to place himself in the position of an intelligent child, he must a once be cross with the parents who have placed the parts and fittings of his toys in helples confusion, and removed many of their integral portions and jointures altogether out of hi reach and vision."

Sir Alfred Lyall has shown the educational edifice in a more hopefu and re-assuring manner, and the simile of building, architecture anc design, His Honor—it would be superfluous to say—has been able to pu much more neatly and eloquently than ourselves.

The next speech was, of course, the Viceroy's. His Lordship is now widely known throughout India as a very agreeable speaker, soothing with plenty of honied words all those who go to him with requests or expectations. It is difficult to say why a statesman wielding great functions should not study to please his subjects: if he has little to give them he can at least soothe them with pleasing diction, and encourage them by generous counsel. But it is not likely that this policy, however essential it is, no doubt, to pursue it, will go long to inspire abiding confidence i the people. The public will some day have to admit that Lord Dufferin' career has been earnest; that he has secured for India great and permanen advantages which a stern and unerring foresight alone could have secured whatever the present unpopularity of his measures. And in this sam manner is the Earl expected to establish an entirely renovated educationa policy. He may not be able to carry it out in its entirety, but that the full groundwork may be prepared during His Excellency's regimé, all those who wish his rule well and are anxious for the removal of the gross dangers existing in the way of India's prosperity may well desire.

The Viceroy opened his speech by a series of well-turned and sonorous sentences, in which he discharged his high privilege of passing eulogium on those who helped to found the institution:—

"This vast and noble structure, so graceful in outline, so rich in ornamentation, and so happily combining the spirit of the purest style of Oriental architecture with the requirement of modern utility, is as striking a proof of Sir William Muir's triumphant exertions in the cause which he had so much at heart as it is destined to prove an enduring monument of his fame and name; and glad am I to think that his gallant son should be present here to-day to witness the honest and enthusiastic manner in which all of us now assembled beneath this roof desire to acknowledge his distinguished father's merits. Nor in honouring him, who the author of the enterprise, must we forget what is due to those public-spirited and

patriotic princes, nobles, and gentlemen, who by their personal exertions, as by the exhibition of a liberality which seems inexhaustible in India when any really good work has been set on foot, have enabled the original idea of the founder of your College to be translated into solid stone and a substantial existence. The great tower rising above us appropriately commemorates the name of the late Maharaja of Vizianagram, who, I am told, by a single stroke of the pen, gifted the Executive Committee with no less than a lakh of rupees. In the same generous manner the Nawab of Rampur, himself an author, a poet, and a scholar, together with a large number of other noblemen and gentlemen, contributed to the building fund of the college; and I now seize the opportunity of assuring them that their conduct on the occasion has not failed of due appreciation at the hands of the Government, as well as of all their fellow-subjects, whether European or Indian."

Such a sincere Viceregal tribute as the above will, no doubt, stimulate the generous and useful sentiments of the Indian aristocracy of wealth and intelligence, as it well should.

We feel thankful that his Lordship gave some indication of his educational policy, though in the absence of a thorough study of the whole question he desired only to subordinate his remarks to the learned utterances of the Lieutenant-Governor, whom he so aptly described as "one of the most refined and distinguished scholars of the day." The Earl thus set forth the objects of the Government in imparting education to the Indians :—

"I will therefore content myself with briefly observing that the education of a people ought to produce three results. It should make them better, wiser, and richer than ever they were before. For the accomplishment of the first we must rely on the study of moral philosophy and of the Divine order of the world; for the second, on a comprehensive acquaintance with general literature; and for the third, on the prosecution of the arts and sciences, and more especially on a wide and extensive diffusion amongst all classes of a technical education. To such an audience as that which I see around me I do not think there is any need for my making any special recommendation of the first of these two branches; but with regard to the third the case is somewhat different, and a few words may perhaps be said on it with advantage."

His Lordship narrated from his experience derived from his visits to schools and colleges, that the general desire among the students was to seek Government service after their curriculum was completed; and His Excellency gave an interesting example to illustrate his own former impressions on the subject. He then proceeded to point out the evil and its remedy :—''

"But, as Mr. Grant Duff has most justly observed in his remarkable add [illegible] must be obvious to every one, even supposing that the doors of the Civil [illegible] so wide to our young Indian aspirants, only a tithe of the class to w[illegible] so absorbed. The promising young student I saw at

outturn of a single year of only one of many similar establishments; but the manu similar claimants for Government employment, the great majority of whom must of be doomed to disappointment and discomfiture, is going on at hundreds of other seats of all over the country. Would it not then be more useful to the nation, as well as b themselves, if other and more independent walks of life were opened up to them? To a derable number the Bar, and what are known as the liberal professions, will offer an hon alternative, but even to these the avenues are already sufficiently crowded and their p variety is extremely limited. But as the Governor of Madras has pointed out, there are a number of other careers which in Europe are thought eminently worthy to be follow gentlemen of birth and breeding, but which can scarcely be said to exist in India, principally the reason that they require a previous technical education for their successful and remunera pursuit. It is to supply this want that the exertions of the Government and the attentio the community at large should be principally directed. The co-operation of both is equa necessary; and, so far as I am personally concerned, I need only say that nothing would gi me greater pleasure than to be instrumental in extending and enlarging the scope of o educational efforts in the special direction to which I have referred."

The observations of the Governor-General, as far as they go, are righ enough, and indeed indicate the wide area to which technical instruction should be applied in India. We quite admit that this is a question in which the co-operation of the community will also be desirable. We fear, however, that the Earl of Dufferin is not yet prepared to grasp the question with that vigorous line of policy in which he is unsurpassable— whenever he perceives the whole truth and is determined to act upon i with his whole heart and soul. Can we, a humble public writer, who h devoted a quarter of a century to the reform of Indian affairs, venture to te the Earl that, however solid his administrative work in India promises t be, his Lordship will fail in securing any permanent and adequate popula- rity unless, before his return to England, he so turns his promised attention to the question that every district may secure a budget estimate of its varied educational and instructional wants, on the scientific and com- prehensive method already laid before the public. This alone will not be sufficient. For, we do hope that the Viceroy may be able to arrange to send hundreds of students to study the practical crafts and professions which may be selected from a mass of them as being the most princip ones, and to introduce the leading European technological agencies int he country, both to construct the practical classes and investigate the naterial resources abounding in India with a view to collect raw materials r the establishment of popular arts and industries. It would be most plorable if ever the question of funds were raised in this

l enhancing the very life-blood of the country. We cannot
and wiser men than Lords Dufferin, Reay, Sir Alfred L[illegible]
at Duff in overcoming the financial difficulties which are
be encountered in laying the basis for a complete national
introduction of a full technical system into the country. We
oment doubt that this will imperishably remain as the real
of British social and political organisation and beneficence
the same manner as the British Government has initiated
blic works, and established the postal system of the country,
ary for that Government to found the national technical
every imperial and local agency available. No hope is
thing more speedily blighted than that reposed in the people
y could first do anything significant in this direction. It
d statesmanlike effort of the Government itself which the
ly needs. No one can know better than the good Earl
wait till the community of India comes to his aid, while
ble Indian cart stick in the mud till Hercules descends
to extricate it. A great policy has to be devised and
that fruitful genius, that keen perception, that untiring
that warm ardor and enthusiastic humanity, of which the
may be said to be a matchless master in Oriental Asia,
ively perceive. And this is a task which—at the outset
itish Government has to handle with complete earnestness
ay we hope that this grand and national, most blessed
sed and founded in the regime of a Viceroy as great a
of firmness as of patriotic benevolence and humanity.
not rely upon worthier compatriots than Lord Reay and
we have mentioned.—*9th May, 1886.*

C

Details of a Polytechnic Academy proposed for Surat.



We have to thank Mr. Tribhuvandas Kalyandas Gajjar, M.A., whom we have not the pleasure of knowing personally, for a copy of his paper named "A Proposal for a Polytechnic Academy for Surat." Mr. Tribhuvandas submits to us some definite proposal for one particular place, and in doing so he has kept in view some of the leading principles enunciated in our pamphlet, explaining the grand scheme of how national technical education can be introduced into India. Mr. Tribhuvan prefaces his paper by a passage from M. Dumas on the triumphs of science, but he has more practically quoted from the speech of the Bombay Vice-Chancellor delivered at the last Convocation of the Bombay University :—

"The upholding hand of the State may properly transfer itself from that side of national education, *where it planted both a demand for teaching and the knowledge how to supply it*, to help in its turn another side, where at present there is little either of knowledge or demand. That side is Technical Education."

Mr. Tribhuvandas is encouraged to suggest the formation of a Technical Academy for Surat owing to a Government Resolution of October last in which "they have expressed their desire of establishing at least one additional Training College." We would rather not make much of a casual Government Resolution especially as the Government of Lord Reay are desirous of giving their best attention to the question of a broad administrative policy instead of continuing the stray and distracted action which has hitherto marked the proceedings of all Governments in India on the subject of technical education. The writer would have Surat to emulate the examples set by Ahmedabad and Poona, which have several colleges, while Surat has none. To say the truth, we do not think too much of these colleges in special reference to the progress of

teachings on popular trades and sciences. The genuine insututions ii the technical line are wanting everywhere. The academical write: himself says that the apprentices brought up by native workmen are betre than the students turned out at the Surat Parekh School of Art. W cannot, therefore, have much faith in the sort of institutions which now-a-days pass as technical schools and colleges. The writer admits that " the drawing and agricultural classes [at Surat] are attended by some few students of the High School to which these classes are attached; and considering how only the elements of these arts are taught there, it is no wonder that they are not attended in larger numbers by the students than they now are." And yet it is to stray funds, such as the Surat Hindu Charity Fund, and to individuals and the Local Funds that he looks for the organization of durable technical institutions. Lord Reay can now intuitively feel the scope and spirit which have been ruling the domain of the so-called technical instruction in the Bombay Presidency.

Mr. Tribhuvandas gives an outline of a Polytechnic Academy which he proposes for Surat. We fear he has not been able to grasp the genius which would render such an institution a practical success, for throughout the curriculum which he proposes for all the sections of a Polytechnic Academy—though he is influenced by the cardinal principle of instruction which we have suggested for its reformation and development—there is suggested a bewildering series of ponderous, indefinite and multifarious studies which, no doubt, the old associations connected with the time-honored educational system of the country must yet suggest.

The writer thinks that scientific and practical instructions could be introduced into primary schools by "scientific teachers" brought up by academical professors. The result would be no better than that marked in the Parukh School of Art, or in the various theoretic, cumbersome and opaque classes attached to some of our High Schools and Colleges. Mr. Tribhuvandas fits up the Academy with a museum, laboratory, workshop, physical cabinet and library, capable, as he thinks, of giving every assistance as respects chemical analysis, industry, commerce, agriculture, &c. Our scholarly scribes are apt to think that a Technical Academy is only to be personated by learned men filled with theoretic crudities, and stocked with conventional books and apparatuses; and thus industries and

extent desired.

Mr. Tribhuvandas' Academy, we find, is a jumble of every conceivable art and industry in a thin theory, and is likely to be worse than the middle school, high school, college, or university of the present times. The features of the Academy are all exotic and transported bodily from a radically different situation, and hardly bear vital relations with those actual circumstances and conditions of towns and districts and their various classes of inhabitants with different means and occupations which we have taken special pains to point out in relation to all the practical action and amelioration that could possibly be attempted. Mr. Tribhuvandas has tried to catch the idea of adapting every section of a school to a course of study according to the wants and requirements of that section, but the very preparatory course of one year which he suggests for students to fit themselves for the Academy, as also the course of general studies which all sections will have to commonly follow, are at once so complicated and prohibitive, that a plain Collegiate or University man will be less of a wearied, impracticable and pedantic fellow than the fully baked creature which Mr. Gajjar's Academy is likely to bring forth. He would have a student who wishes to be either a common trader or an artist to pass in the following subjects after he has had his primary education :—The Gujrati and English languages, Indian Geography with detailed geography of Gujerat, Arithmetic, Geometry, Natural History, including preliminary notions of Zoology, Botany and Geology, Drawing and Caligraphy. Mr. Gajjar divides the Academy into five sections and prescribes a four years' course to each section. Again, for each year's course he has certain subjects of instruction common to all sections and special ones for each section. It is an appalling curriculum which he prescribes for every one of the sections. For the very first year the common subjects are :—The Gujrati and English languages, History of India, Geography of the World, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Natural History, including Zoology, Botany, Geology and Physical Geography, Physics experimental, including general Physics, Heat and Meteorology, Chemistry—inorganic and metalloids, Drawing, Caligraphy, Commercial accounts and Book-keeping. The special subjects for Section I the first year will be :—The higher Algebra, Plane Trigonometry, Practical Geometry, Organic, Agricultural and Analytical Chemistry, Vegetable Anatomy and Physiology, Anatomy and Physiology of D[illegible]stic

Animals, Mineralogy and Geology in relation to Agriculture. And this is the list for the students "who desire to devote themselves exclusively to the study of agriculture and farming." Look again to the special course for Section 1 in the third year:—Theory of Machinery and Mechanical designing of course in reference to Agriculture, Meteorology, Theory and Practice of Agriculture, Study of the Rearing of Animals, Theory of Farming, Rural and Forest Economy, Rural Architecture, Technology of branches of Industry connected with Agriculture, Agricultural accounts and Book-keeping.

It is not necessary for a person wishing to be a cultivator to master Universal History, Jurisprudence, Astronomy, or Human Physiology. Nor much of this could be useful to a common painter, sculptor, soap-maker, or one who wishes to accept service. Why should any of these have to learn Physics or Integral Calculus to turn out successful in the world? Why should Mineralogy, Geology or Zoology be indispensable for Section 2?

Mr. Tribhuvandas has earned the thanks of the public for boldly expressing his own views as to what a Polytechnic Academy should be like. He has done his duty, and it is certainly no fault of his, if he could only suggest, but could not comprehend, what a practical grasp of the question ought to be. His instance must serve to point out to Lord Reay what the result would be should the Educational Department alone be asked to prepare a scheme for polytechnic training. Such a scheme would only be most crude. Instead of aiming to prepare practical men capable of being engaged in various arts and industries, the students brought up under a purely or mostly academical system will be as discontented and impracticable a lot as the present outturn of our schools and colleges. There would be too much of raw learning crammed in which must necessarily wither every special faculty and every special genius. To ally the most difficult orders of sciences and literature with the mere outside fringe of a general trade or profession is the most unsuccessful method of bringing up a student in his proper avocation. The programme drawn up by the writer is, no doubt, attractive, but it must excite our sincere pity if it were to be taken into more practical account than would suffice for the purpose of creating a set of refined professors—such grand examplars of theories and inaction and the self-contented eulogists of silent universe. It

is not to pure Academicians that the work of designing for the national-industrial-instructional policy could be entrusted with any safety. Here we are forcibly reminded of the Conference already suggested for preparing such a design, in the pamphlet already referred to. The Conference would be represented by the strongest members of several services and the communities which need not now be mentioned. Besides missing the urgency of being acquainted with the conditions which should influence the formation of specific schools and academies, Mr. Tribhuvandas altogether fails to understand what agencies would be successful for their practical working. He is himself a good example of a learned and worthy theorist in science, but if all were to be brought up according to his model, we should have perfectly exhausted creatures fit for nothing in particular in the directions where our warmest sympathies lie. Let us say at once how fatal would be the blunder of basing our common policy on the highly proficient systems which have come into existence in Germany, France or England, after a patient and hereditary progress and development of upwards of a century. To say that an imitation of grown-up and hereditary Academies will remove Indian miseries, is to clothe the Brahmins in the costumes of British workmen and manufacturers, and take them as the industrial and mercantile classes of Europe. We must go to the root of the evil as it exists in the different representative parts of India and apply the remedies exactly suited to them. The great policy of sincere and direct research of native well-fitted appreciation, and of acute specific organizations, which the treatise included in this work aims at indicating, is altogether different from the plain single-bladed fruition of a general Educational Department which will not easily yield in being mercilessly broken up in all directions to befit itself to the modern actualities of human existence which alone have the strongest claims on our immediate and keenest sympathies.—*16th May*, 1886.



WORKS BY
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The Author has a few copies of his following works for sale:—

Travels in Southern India; *Review of the Parsi Social Question of* [illegible]; *Review of the Bombay Taxation Discussion of 1871*; *Review of Baroda Affairs in 1871*; [illegible] *of Indian Journals on the works on Baroda Affairs*; *The Political S*[illegible]; *The Impending Revolution at Baroda, 1873 74*; *The Riots of 1874* [illegible] *and Philosophy*; *British Policy respecting Famines in India*; [illegible] *Baroda, 1874-75*; *Representation to His Excellency Sir R. E.* [illegible] *Governor of Bombay, on Native States in Kattywar*; *The Forces of the Native S*[illegible] *India, considered in relation to the Defence of the Indian Empire*, [illegible] *Affairs in 1880*; *Native Princes' Own Book printed but* [illegible] *additions*.

The Author now desires to publish Selections from his [illegible] Provincial, Imperial, Social and Religious Questions, which have [illegible] been written between 1860 and 1884, with a view to give them a [illegible] provided that sufficient subscribers are forthcoming. The S[illegible] occupy about six volumes of the same size as Sir Richard Temple's [illegible] in 1880," and may be consecutively published as the means [illegible] may permit.

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